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## THE CHAMBERED MOUND AT PLAS NEWYDD.

THE well known chambered mound at Plas Newydd, in Anglesey, was, we believe, first described by Pennant in his *Tour* (vol. ii, p. 247, first edition). Rowlands' description of it shews that he was not aware of its contents. His statement is: "There is also at Plas Newydd Wood one of the largest carnedds in the Isle of Anglesey, yet scarce discerned and distinguished from a mount of earth, the stones being overgrown with earth and moss, and great trees growing thick upon it" (p. 94). Facing p. 100 is a curious representation of it, or rather what he thought it should be, for the covering of earth is supposed to have been removed, and exposed a conical heap of huge stones. "One side is unbroken, and measures twenty paces to the summit." The opposite side he calls "the broken side"; so that it is evident some kind of breach existed, but not extensive enough to disclose the interior chamber. Otherwise it is difficult to account for his not making any mention of it. The first edition appeared in 1723. The second, by the Rev. Henry Owen, published in 1766, was a considerable improvement in matter and style on the earlier one, but gives no additional information. A Supplement of *Mona Antiqua* appeared in 1775, but omits all mention of it; yet in 1760 Pennant saw it much as it is at present.

The next notice of it appears to be that of the late Angharad Llwyd in her Prize Essay on the *History of Mona*; but this is borrowed from Pennant, whose ridiculous conjecture she comments on. That zealous but not always accurate antiquary, in alluding to the semi-circular holes which, he thinks, had probably corresponding holes in an upper stone (now lost), so that the two could perform the office of stocks, adds,—“It is indeed conjecture, but not an improbable one, that in this place had been kept the wretches destined for sacrifice; as it is well known that they performed these sacrifices, and often upon captives who had suffered long imprisonment, perhaps in cells.” As Pennant adopted the opinion of Borlase, that all cromlechs had been sepulchral chambers, or parts of them, Angharad Llwyd justly points out how inconsistent the theory of the prison-chamber is with his own opinion. Angharad’s description of the chamber is correct enough, as well as her assignation of it to its true use (p. 240). The contributor of the account of Llanedwen parish to Lewis’ *Topographical Dictionary* merely informs us that “the carnedd was opened a few years ago, and found to contain a vault 7 feet in length and 4 in breadth; but after a diligent search no other relics were discovered.” This volume of the *Dictionary* was published in 1833. As Pennant in 1760 saw the monument, and described it just as it is at present, it is evident the writer of the notice in the *Dictionary* knew very little of its history or of the date of its discovery. Bingley, however, who commenced his *Tour* in 1798, does give some information in that work, printed in 1804. He writes (p. 304, vol. i), “On returning from the house at Plas Newydd to the Holyhead road I observed a large tumulus, which on subsequent inquiry I was informed is generally believed by the country people to have been a Druidical place of interment, and to have originally had some connection with the cromlech. A large upper stone is now exposed, and beneath this I found a low entrance into a subterranean recess, apparently 10 or

12 feet long, and 4 wide and high. The sides are formed by flat, upright stones, one of which, opposite to the entrance, is said to enclose the passage into a vault considerably larger than this. The place was first exposed in the time of Sir Nicolas Bailey, about seventy years ago; and when the workmen had opened the entrance into the larger recess, he ordered them to discontinue their operations as it seemed to contain nothing but bones. A servant of the present Earl of Uxbridge, at the request of some gentleman who visited the place about eighteen years ago, dug to the depth of about 12 feet in the bottom of the smaller vault, and discovered a few bones and a very old clasp-knife, which might probably have been lost by the men who before dug in the same place, for the man could give me no satisfactory description of it."

How much of the above statement can be relied on is uncertain, as it depends on the accuracy of Mr. Bingley's informants; but there is nothing suspicious in the character of the information, as is frequently the case with local traditions. It is, moreover, correct as to the time of the discovery, as we know that it probably took place after the death of Henry Rowlands (1723) and before 1760, the date of Pennant's visit. Bingley's visit took place about 1800; so that according to what was told him, the chamber was laid bare about 1730. This account has been copied almost *verbatim* by the Rev. J. Evans, who compiled vol. xvii of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, embracing the six northern counties of Wales. The only alteration introduced is, that instead of seventy, it is seventy or eighty years. As he wrote at least ten years after Bingley, he would have been more correct if he had omitted the word "seventy". He appears to have been doubtful whether it was a place of sepulture, as some conjecture, or a place of confinement for the wretched victims destined to be sacrificed, as Mr. Pennant thought was probable. Bingley seems to have known better than to reproduce such a ridiculous suggestion.

About the same time that Mr. J. Evans' work appeared, Nicholas Carlisle, Fellow and Secretary of the Antiquaries of London, gave to the public his *Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (1811), a work even more meagre and unsatisfactory than that of Lewis. All the information here given is that a portion of a large *carnedd* has been removed, and within was discovered a cell of about 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, covered at top with two flat stones, and lined on the side with others. Guide-books of later date cannot be expected to furnish more information than what they find already in print, while they are generally limited in space. As a sample, Black's *Picturesque Guide* (1857) may be quoted: "Near to these cromlechs are *traces* of a large *carnedd*, which covered a space of ground 142 yards in circumference, now nearly overgrown with grass. A part of the elevation having been cleared, discovery was made of a cell 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, covered by two flat stones raised at one corner so as to admit of entrance" (p. 51). As the mound or tumulus is at the present time little diminished from its original dimensions, it is not clear what the writer means by *traces*.

The latest account is from one of the same class of authorities, namely, the last edition of Murray's *North Wales* (1874). Here the writer has certainly not been content with the accounts of others, but has evidently examined the chamber for himself. His notes, however, on this occasion do not exhibit that accuracy and carefulness of observation of which this edition furnishes so many examples. It will be better, however, to repeat his account of it here: "A quarter of a mile from the two cromlechs is a *kistvaen*. It is within a bank of stones, in the shape of a quadrant of a circle; and the large capstone, 7 feet square, is supported by rough, slab-like stones at the sides, and one at the back. A smaller capstone, 4 feet square, is behind the larger one, but not over the main chamber. A stone which seems to have had a circular aperture fills the



lower half of the entrance. This is probably the most perfect monument of the kind in Britain." No notice is taken of the tumulus; and instead of a circular aperture there are two semicircular ones. Many popular guide-books mention it; but they are mostly more or less indifferent compilations for the benefit of summer tourists.

It will be gathered from what has been said, that there does not appear to be anything like a satisfactory account of this interesting, and, as regards Wales, unique, relic of prehistoric age; but in 1870 this deficiency was made up by the Hon. W. Owen Stanley in his able article in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1870. He alludes to the number and variety of megalithic monuments in the county of Anglesey, most of which have been described and figured in the Journal of the Association. This one, however, had not been so fully described as it deserves for its size and peculiar features; and those who have read Mr. Stanley's account will agree that he has supplied what was wanting most amply and satisfactorily. However, during the Meeting of the Association in Carnarvon in 1877, a small section of the members visited the cromlechs and chamber at Plas Newydd, and among the number was Mr. Worthington Smith, to whom the Association is already so much indebted for his accurate drawings, engravings of which have enriched so many volumes of the *Arch. Camb.* On this occasion Mr. Smith preferred to be left behind when the rest returned, his work detaining him some hours. During that time he drew and measured the chambers, if there were originally two.

Examples of such divided chambers still exist, especially in parts of France. Thus in the great chamber of Esse, about two miles from Retier, a small town on the main road to Rennes, there are the cross-walls marking out five separate chambers. The fifth, the farthest from the entrance, was probably once divided, so that the original number was six. The late Mr. Lukis of Guernsey, who had given much attention to

these megalithic chambers, thought, where the innermost chamber was larger than the others, that this was the original one, and the others were additions from time to time. In the present instance we have the inner chamber rather the smaller of the two, while its position would show it was earlier than the larger one.

The entrance is to the east, which is almost always the case, although a few exceptions exist. Whether this fact is connected with any religious element has not yet been made out, although some attach importance to it. But, however that may be, it is very probable, if not almost certain, that if these sepulchral chambers were used by successive generations, some rule as to the position of the entrance must have been established, otherwise it would be very inconvenient to have to make trials in the tumulus. For a somewhat similar reason the stone which closed the east side of the chamber did not support the capstone which in the simple quadrangular chamber rested on three supports. Hence we have so many of such chambers left perfect, except on the eastern side, such as Kit's cotty house, not far from Maidstone, St. Lytham, near Cardiff, at Newport, in Pembrokeshire, at Plas Issa, near Criceth, Dolwylyn, Corsygedol, and many other places. The same is the case with the Plas Newydd chamber. The present fragment, with the two semi-circular apertures, when perfect, could never have supported the capstone, otherwise its removal would seriously compromise the safety of the capstone which had to support such a mass of soil and stone. But no damage has been done, as it appears to be exactly in the same position as when originally placed. The real supports are the massive jambs at the entrance.

Mr. Stanley is of opinion that in all probability the stone now remaining is the lower half of one, the upper part of which has been destroyed. If the mound had not been opened before the time of Sir J. Bailey, as mentioned above, the mischief was probably then done by the labourers employed. It is true in Row-

land's time that that side of the mound was broken, to use his own expression, but the broken surface had not disclosed what was behind, otherwise he would have dwelt on such a remarkable discovery; and, on the other hand, it is not likely that excavations made before his time would have been covered up in order to preserve it from further mutilation. On the opening of the mound by the then owner of the Plas Newydd estate, as already described, it is most likely that the stone was broken in trying to obtain access to the interior; and this being rendered practicable by the removal of the upper portion, the lower one was allowed to remain as it is at present.

Most persons who have seen the chamber will probably agree with Mr. Stanley in thinking that originally the east end was closed by a single slab having two round holes such as occur in the sides of cromlechs or kistvaens in India, of which he gives representations from the account of cromlechs in the Deccan, in India, by Colonel Meadows Taylor. This diligent antiquary, however, lays down rules which distinguish *kistvaens* from *cromlechs*. A kistvaen differs from a cromlech in having four sides with or without a capstone. A cromlech has only three. Surely a three-sided cromlech must be the result of accident, and never could have been intended by those who erected it. Colonel Forbes Leslie, remarking on the memoir of Colonel Meadows Taylor, says that these kistvaens are altogether above ground, and never appear to have been under a mound, like cromlechs or dolmens; that they are probably sacrificial altars; and that the round hole in the side was intended as a passage for the spirit on its way to a new body, transporting with itself arms, ornaments, etc., deposited in the tomb. It may appear rather presumptuous to question the statements of such distinguished authorities. *If* the cromlech and the kistvaen differ from each other, the difference must be one of size only, for in principle of construction they are identical. It is true Meadows Taylor considers them quite

distinct; but the distinction he makes can hardly be admitted, for a three-sided cromlech (if such a relic exists) is but the imperfect remains of a larger chamber. He rests his theory on other grounds not more satisfactory, for he tells us that in none of the open cromlechs could anything be found, and the original earth of the floors remained undisturbed. On the other hand, "in the closed or four-sided cromlechs were found human ashes, portions of bone, and charcoal, mixed with pieces of broken pottery, red and black, with the invariable *pandre matti*, or black earth mould, brought from a distance." (*Arch. Camb.*, Fourth Series, vol. i, p. 54.)

The circumstance that in the open chambers nothing was found, is more easily explained by the improbability of finding anything in a chamber exposed for ages to human curiosity. Our own cromlechs have long ago been cleared out, and in the majority of cases without any record of discoveries made. The same would probably be the case in other inhabited countries; and if "the closed or four-sided cromlechs are found to contain *débris* of human ashes, bones, pottery, etc., the inference is that such remains were not thought worth removing." The difficulty, however, is increased by the observation of Col. Leslie, that "these kistvaens are altogether above ground", and "never appear to have been under a mound like the dolmens". If this is the case, one might have expected the reverse of Mr. Meadows' statements, and that buried cromlechs would have preserved their contents, while the exposed kistvaens would be cleared of them. But it does not seem to have occurred to this gentleman as well as to others who have published similar opinions on this subject, that if they are correct, those who erected these monuments must have had strange notions of carrying out their intentions; for presuming that they intended to provide a secure resting-place for the remains of their friends, and that cromlechs and kistvaens were meant for such a purpose, nothing could have been contrived less adapted for protecting them from man, animals, or the effects of weather, than to

leave them so exposed; while, on the other hand, one cannot conceive a more effectual and lasting protection for a grave than a mound. If, indeed, cromlechs or kistvaens were ever intended for sacrificial or other religious rites, this theory of the universal protection of stone monuments is evidently untenable. That stone altars did exist, we have ample proof in the sacred writings. But they were especially built for that purpose, and therefore properly adapted for it; while of all inconvenient contrivances for altar purposes, nothing can be conceived more useless, or rather more impracticable, than an ordinary cromlech. What connection, if any, existed between the greater groups of megaliths, as those of Avebury, Stonehenge, Stanton Drew, Rollright, etc., with religious services, is a distinct and hitherto unsettled question; but no remains of any altar or altar-stone exist in any of them, for the stone so called, in the centre of the Stonehenge group, is most probably nothing of the kind. That the Druids had altars must be admitted; but of what form, whether of a single stone, or built up of unhewn stones, is unknown. If they were destroyed by early missionaries, their demolition would be more easy if of the latter kind. It may, however, be safely stated that as regards England and Wales, no such thing as a real stone altar is in existence, or known to have existed. About fifty years ago Dr. Alfred Fouquet of Vannes, who wrote a treatise on the Celtic monuments and Roman remains in the department of the Morbihan, thought he had discovered several Druid or Celtic altars. These are certain natural rocks in that part of Brittany, which, to use his own words, have the *gorge* and the *gradin*; the former being a natural, hollow groove or moulding round the lower part of the stone. The *gradin* is a natural shouldering out of the bottom of the stone, forming a low step, which in some cases is so low as to be even with the ground, and could be of no use to the officiating priest. Some of these stones have cup-hollows, which he asserts have been the work of

man, and not of nature. These hollows *never*, according to him, occur on stones placed by man. Hence he draws his conclusion as to these natural stones being altars, which being too massive and difficult to destroy, the missionaries of the day desecrated by cutting the hollows, as Druid as well as Mosaic laws forbade the lifting up a tool against them. But, unluckily, what Dr. Fouquet thinks to be artificial hollows, are the work of nature. One of these so-called altars is within a short walk from Vannes, so that any visitor to that city may easily examine and judge for himself. We believe very few of his countrymen have been persuaded that his theory is correct; at any rate, for the last forty or fifty years no notice has been taken of it.

On referring, however, to the kistvaens, representations of which are given by Mr. Stanley opposite p. 54 in his description of the tumulus in Plas Newydd Park, one of them has a circular aperture in one of the sides. This is in the Deccan in India; other examples are to be seen at Musselbunda, the Carnatic; another in Southern Bengal; another in Circassia. One in South India has two such holes side by side. (See Mr. Stanley's notice, p. 52.) That these holes were intended for some purpose is undeniable. Mr. Stanley suggests that they were intended for the spirit to pass through to the new body into which it was to enter. Colonel Leslie further conjectures that through it the spirit conveyed ornaments or arms which had been deposited in the grave at the time of burial. The Hindus are said to believe that the soul exists as a spirit until certain necessary ceremonies are performed, after which it passes into a substantial form about the length and thickness of a man's thumb.

One very remarkable example of this class is the long and narrow chamber at Moitura in Sligo. This structure is 40 feet long by 7 broad, and is divided into three compartments. It lies north and south. The latter entrance is closed by a single stone with one of these apertures. The northern entrance has two stones, one

of which is also perforated in the same manner. The diameter of these apertures is five inches.

Whatever explanation may be offered as to the purpose of these holes may also apply to the numerous instances of pillar-stones similarly pierced. The late Mr. Brash enumerates several in different parts of Ireland. They also occur in Cornwall. Mr. J. T. Blight has contributed a notice of them to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, republished by H. J. and James Parker in 1865. Borlase, before him, had described them, and both gentlemen think that they were in some way connected with stone circles. Borlase supposes that the Druid priests tied their victims near the top of the stone. Two of the Bollert stones are so pierced, and a third, of like character, is said to be at no great distance. The well known Mên-an-tol and its two companions are so placed that they seem to have formed part of a circle. The hole, however, in this instance is very different from the others mentioned above, as it measures on one side 2 ft. 2 ins., and 1 ft. 7 ins. on the other, the difference being attributable to unskilful boring. Children used to be passed through it for spinal disease. The diameter in the Bollert stones is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins., nearly the same as the Moitura ones mentioned above. Mr. Blight also informs us that several holed stones of this description were found near the circles of Carn Kenizhek, in the parish of St. Just.

In Penwith, in Constantine parish, is a stone of triangular form with a large hole through it. This stood near a barrow, and in later times a stone cross was erected near it. A similar cross still stands near one of the Bollert stones; and it is curious that one of these pierced stones at Plymouth had a cross also near it. Whether these crosses were intended to divert the people from superstitious practices of pagan origin is not certain; but they were probably placed for that purpose.

Borlase, p. 178, states that Martin (one of our earliest Scotch topographers) says shortly before his time the



natives used to pour libations of milk or beer through holed stones to propitiate "Browny", a hobgoblin like the Irish Banshee, which was attached to some particular family. This practice, however, only shews how little was known of the real object of these stones. The same may be said of the well known Stennis Stones of Orkney, which the Rev. Dr. Henry, Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, first made known. His account, accompanied by a rude cut of a bird's-eye view of it, will be found in volume iii of *Archæologia Scotica*, p. 122, which Daniel Wilson, in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, has also noticed. There are near it several other groups of stones, but one only has a hole. It is about 8 feet high, and 3 broad, and the hole is much larger than usual, although smaller than the Cornish Maen-tol. It was, however, with some other curious remains near it, barbarously destroyed by a farmer in 1814. "There was a custom", says Dr. Henry, "among the lower class of people in this country, which has entirely subsided within these twenty or thirty years. When a party had agreed to marry, it was usual to repair to the Temple of the Moon (a circle of stones), where the woman, in presence of the man, fell down on her knees and prayed to the god Woden that he would enable her to perform all the promises she had made, and was to make, to the young man present. After which they both went to the Temple of the Sun (another group of stones), where the man prayed in like manner before the woman. They then repaired to the stone to the north-east of the semicircular range; and the man being on one side, and the woman on the other, they took hold of each other's right hand, through the hole in it, and there they swore to be constant and faithful to each other." This ceremony was considered so very sacred that the person who dared to break the engagement thus made was accounted infamous, and excluded all society. A rudely drawn bird's-eye view is given of the two stone circles called the Temples of the Sun and

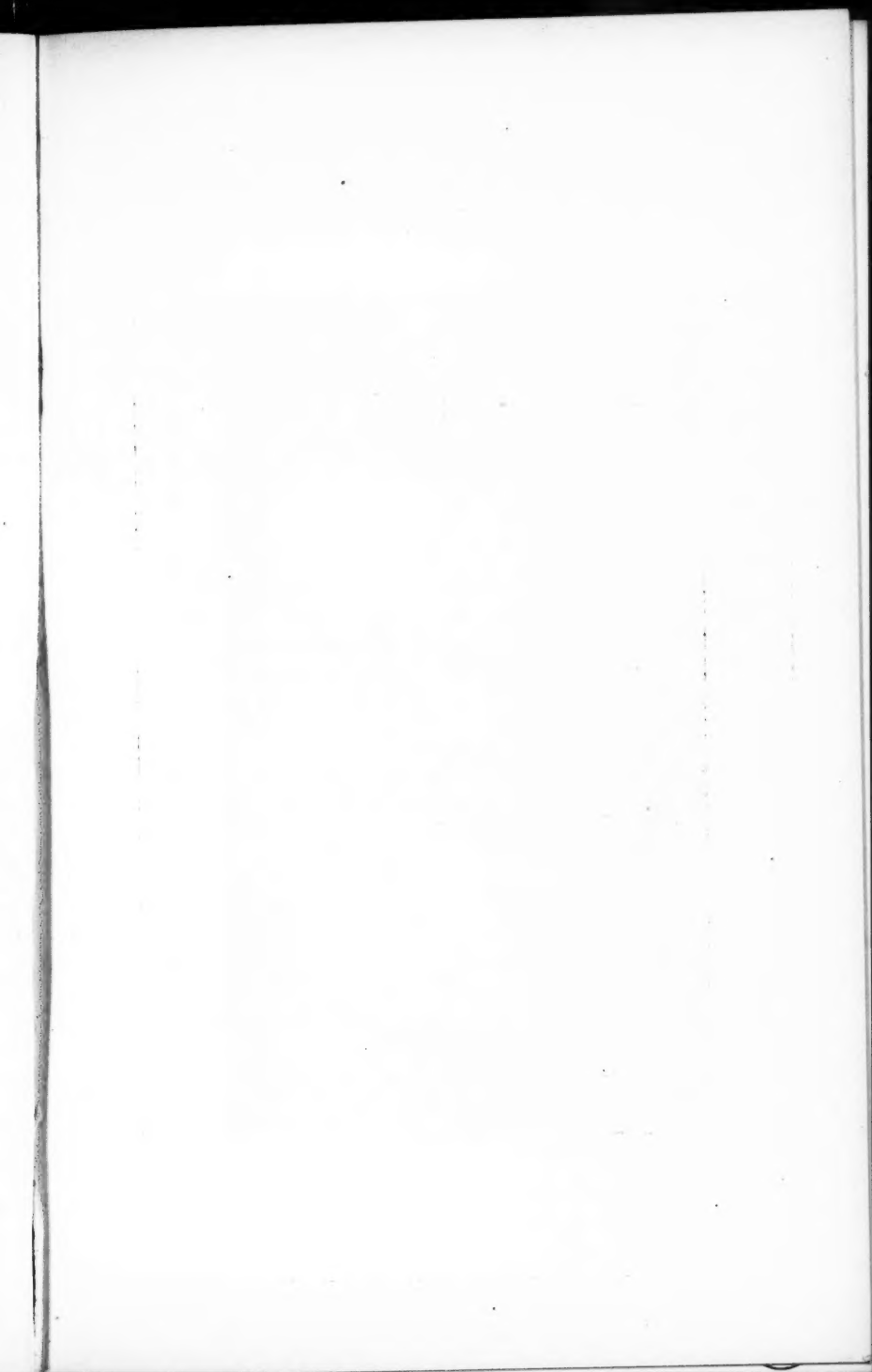
Moon ; and as far as their representation enables one to form an opinion, they do not differ from ordinary circles. The pierced stone is at some little distance from that which is called the Temple of the Moon, and a much greater distance from that of the Sun ; but probably has some connection with the nearest of the two, as a kind of advanced sentinel, such as we find in Cumberland, Long Meg holding the same position as regards her Daughters who compose the circle, the finest and most perfect we have. Whether, however, these circles of Stenhouse were erected by the Norsemen, or found existing, and utilised by them, is uncertain.

The great difficulty of these holed stones is the suggesting any reasonable theory as to their use, both as regards the cromlech and the pillar stone ; the former, however, of the two presents the greater difficulty, for if it is true that in all cases cromlechs or kistvaens were originally buried under mounds, the holes could not have been of any use, since they would be blocked up by the material of the mound. In addition to this objection is another one. From many instances still existing it is evident that the greatest care was taken to close up all joints and other vacant spaces between the walls of the chamber with small stones, packed with such skill that even at this day they are not easily removed. Great care has evidently been taken to make the interior as air-tight as possible. Those then who erected these chambers would hardly have used stones pierced with holes. Nor is it conceivable that at a time subsequent to the original erection, and covering up the chamber, the chamber was denuded and the stone bored, and that too without any imaginable motive. The labour of removing and replacing such a mass of material must have been very serious. The only suggestion that can be offered is that they only exist where the chamber joins another or opens into a gallery or other covered space.

Mr. Stanley, in his description of the Plas Newydd chamber, mentions the Rodmarton tumulus and its

chamber, the entrance to which, on its north side, consisted of two stones placed upright, side by side, and hollowed out in their two inner and adjoining edges, so as to leave a hole of oval shape. This opening was itself closed up by a third upright stone, placed in front of it, which had to be removed before the chamber could be entered. The approach to it was by a narrow passage, inclosed by low dry walls on each side. A large cromlech, lying between Locmariaker and Carnac, has its interior divided exactly in the same way. In these two instances the aperture was protected by side walls and the capstone above. The capstone resting on the two side stones, as it appears to do from the account by the Rev. Samuel Lysons in the second volume of the new series of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries (p. 277), could not be removed so as to admit to the interior of the chamber; while the oval aperture, too small to admit a man, has no apparent use. The Rodmarton chamber, however, is so far of interest as proving that the aperture was protected from direct contact with the material of the tumulus.

The plan of the Plas Newydd chamber, made with great care by Mr. Worthington Smith, shows that there once existed a kind of antechamber, the diverging lines of which are still indicated by the remaining stones. The accurate plan of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, which accompanies Mr. Stanley's article, shows them no less distinctly. A similar arrangement existed in front of the north entrance of the Rodmarton chamber, so that we have two instances where these holes were not in immediate contact with the materials of the covering mound. The same provision was probably made for Indian and other early stone kistvaens or chambers; for if, as Colonel Leslie thinks, such were always exposed, and above ground, it would ill accord with the usual reverence to the dead, to expose the interior of the grave to any one who was curious enough to look through the hole. If the structure was merely an

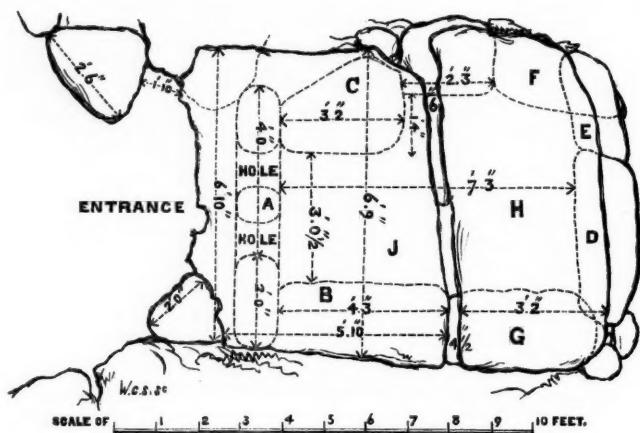




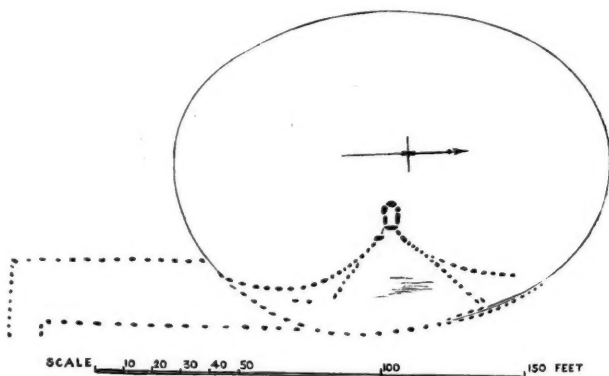
II.—KISTVAEN, PLAS NEWYDD, ANGLESEY.

View from the inside, looking outwards. The letters refer to the reference letters on plan.





III.—PLAN OF KISTVAEN (WITH EACH STONE LETTERED), PLAS NEWYDD, ANGLESEY.



IV.—PLAN OF MOUND AND CHAMBER.



altar of sacrifice the hole was superfluous. In short, no explanation, or even suggestion, of a satisfactory nature has yet been given as regards these holes; but the fact that they opened on some enclosed space either of a gallery or chamber, and were thus protected from coming into contact with the material of the mound, seems, from the two examples we have mentioned, highly probable. There is, moreover, one feature in the Plas Newydd chamber to be noticed, namely, that there is no known instance of having two holes in the *same stone*.<sup>1</sup>

The chamber itself has two capstones. The front one (J) measures across the centre 6 ft. 9 ins. by 5 ft. 6 ins., the back one (H) 3 ft. 2 ins. by 8 ft. 2 ins. Between the two capstones is an open space about 6 ins. across. Mr. Worthington Smith, during his visit, took two views, one from the outside the other from the inside (see cuts 1 and 2), the former of which gives an exact representation of the eastern entrance, and of the front capstone. The two principal front supporters are c, and the stone opposite, marked b in cut No. 2. The back ones are F, D, G in plan. Cut No. 2 is a view looking from the interior outwards, and gives a good representation of the most important of the supporting slabs and the massive capstone. It is not impossible but that what is now one chamber was two, each having its own capstone. This is found to be the case generally where two or more chambers exist, having been added from time to time to the original one. In most cases, however, the stones that separated the chamber have vanished. The most perfect instance of

<sup>1</sup> A cromlech in South India, in Mr. Stanley's notice, one side of which has two holes; but they are in two adjoining stones, not in one.

<sup>2</sup> In the last number of the *Anthropological Review*, p. 173, Miss A. Buckland says the Plas Newydd stone has horseshoe shape; but she is not correct, for the semicircular openings are perfect parts of circles. Mr. Worthington Smith noticed them particularly, and says they were certainly not horseshoe shape, but looked as if they had been turned, so perfect were the circular curves.

a chamber so divided is that of Esse, as stated above, p. 85. A plan of it is here given. Nos. 2 and 3 are much more massive than the other supporters, having to bear the weight of an enormous lintel stone which from its size and weight make it probable that it was an integral part of the original structure, built in anticipation of subsequent interments, thus reversing the usual plan of adding chambers to the original one, as occasion required. Stone No. 1 has fallen down. It will be observed that the largest chamber is the furthest from the entrance. The second, which has one of the dividing stones, is next in size. The next two are smaller, and the most eastern one alone has both its dividing slabs. The space left was filled up with dry masonry or smaller slabs, long since removed. It is possible that the innermost and most western chamber was not divided, as the number of capstones is five, the chambers being five also. The stones are of unusual size, and all except one, which has partly slipped off, are in their places.

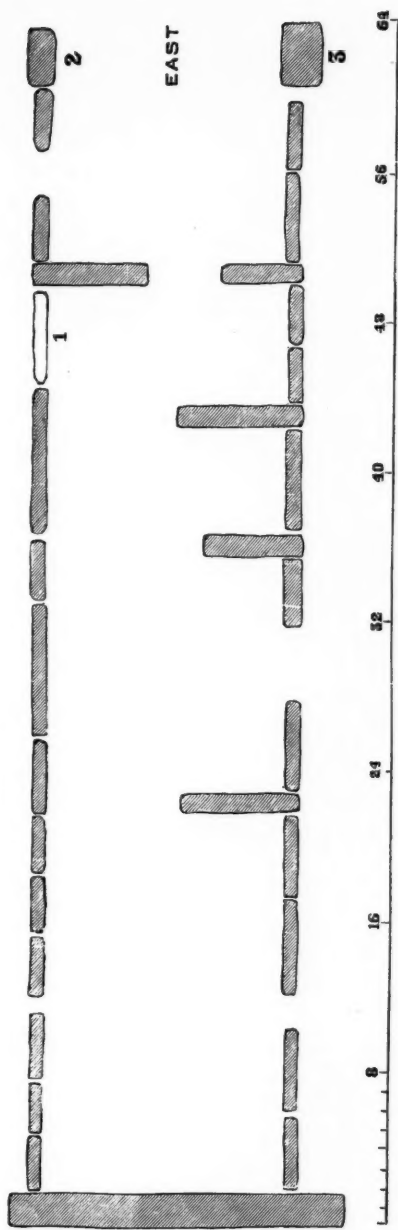
In cut No. 2 the under surface of the same capstone is shown (j). In cut No. 1 E and D are the supporting stones of the smaller capstone; H F is one of the side supporters. In the plan, H and J show the outlines of the two capstones. The narrow lines between the chamber represent the gap between the two capstones, which is about 6 inches. Cut 3 (copied from a plan of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams), by the same gentleman, gives the size of the tumulus and the chamber. It is difficult to understand why so large a mound was required for so small a chamber, unless there are still within it at least one or more similar ones. But however this may be, the great interest of the Plas Newydd chamber is the remaining part of the stone that closed the entrance, having two semicircular apertures, the use of which still remains a mystery.

E. L. BARNWELL.



V.—CROMLECH AT ESSE.

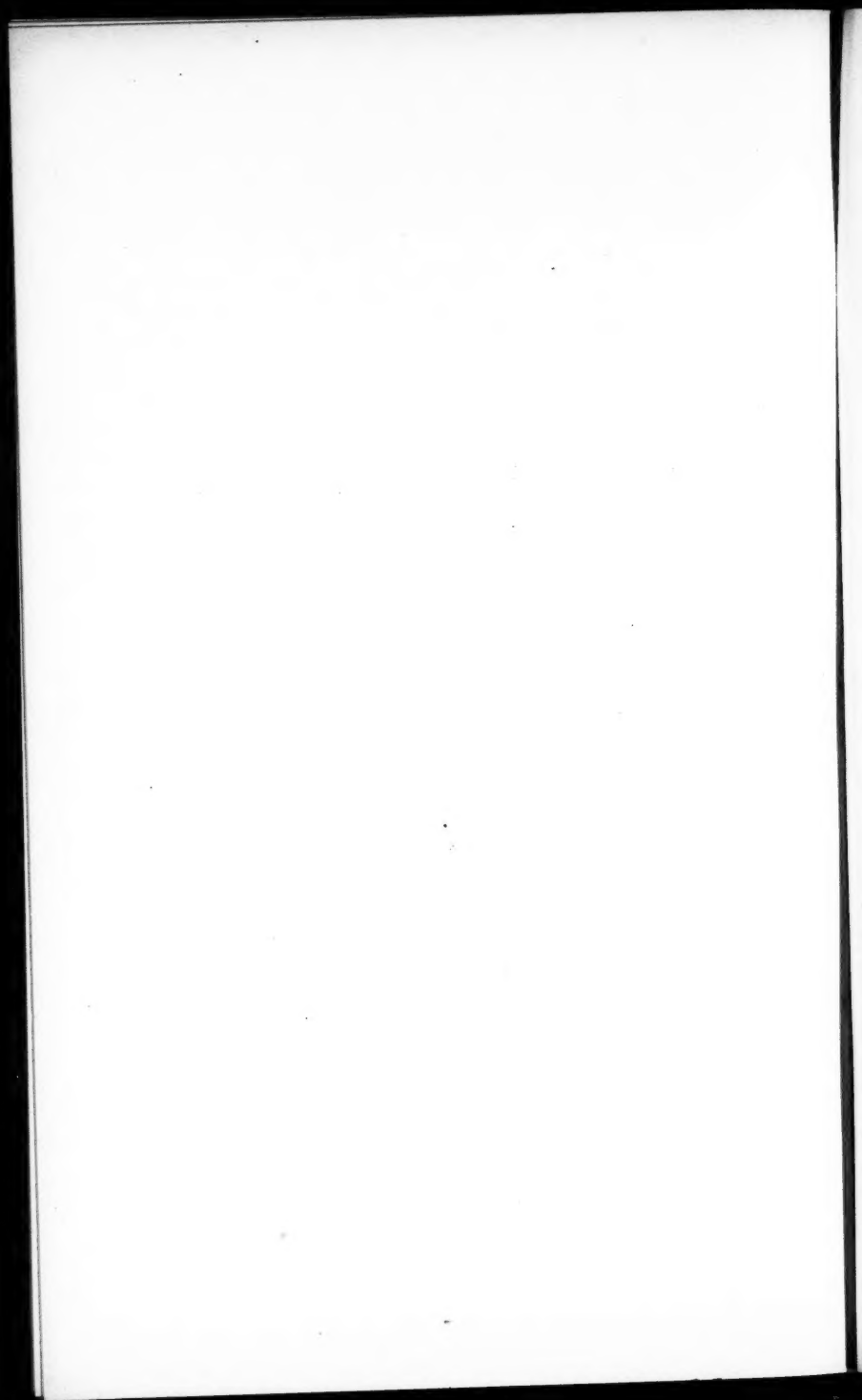
Main body of the document containing several paragraphs of handwritten text. The text is extremely faint and illegible throughout the page.



SCALE OF FEET

VI.—PLAN OF CROMLECH AT ESSE.





## THE CELTIC ELEMENT OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

(Continued from p. 24.)

THE preceding instances are words that are either now in common use, or are found in our early literature. I now proceed to give the same number of local or provincial words from a list which is much larger than those to which I have already referred.

### LOCAL OR PROVINCIAL WORDS.

ENGLISH.	CELTIC.
<i>Adite</i> , awry (N.)	Ir. Gael. <i>clith</i> ( <i>clit</i> ), left-handed, awkward; Ir. <i>cluidh</i> ( <i>clidu</i> ), squint-eyed; W. Corn. <i>clëdd</i> , left
<i>Aid</i> , the course or angle of a vein of ore, a reach in a river (Crav. Sal.)	W. <i>aed</i> , a going, a departure
<i>Aijah</i> , the fat about the kidneys (Suff.)	Ir. Gael. <i>igh</i> , pron. <i>zyh</i> , fat ( <i>igha</i> , <i>eyha</i> , id.); M. <i>ceh</i> , suet, fat
<i>Airt</i> , a point or part of the compass or horizon (N.)	Ir. Gael. <i>airt</i> , a region, a point of the compass
<i>Arles</i> , money paid to make sure of an engagement, earnest (N.)	Ir. Gael. <i>arias</i> , <i>earlas</i> , a pledge, a money payment; M. <i>cearlys</i> , an earnest penny
<i>Arns</i> , <i>arnest</i> , earnest money (Lanc.)	W. <i>ern</i> , <i>ernes</i> , id.; Arm. <i>arres</i> , <i>erres</i> , id.; Ir. Gael. <i>earnas</i> , a bond
<i>Attile</i> , rubbish, refuse; a miner's term (W.)	Corn. <i>attal</i> , W. <i>adhail</i> , refuse, waste
<i>Auma</i> , a kind of pancake (Heref.)	W. <i>ammaeth</i> , a dainty, a junket
<i>Aven</i> , promise, appearance; "the <i>aven</i> of a fine colt" (Salop)	Corn. <i>avain</i> , Arm. <i>aven</i> , image, form, figure
<i>Avern</i> , squalid, uncouth; applied to females (Nhamp., Beds.)	W. <i>hafren</i> , <i>hafr</i> , a loose, slatternly woman
<i>Bally</i> , comfortable (W.)	W. <i>balon</i> , contented, at ease
<i>Band</i> , the summit of a hill (Lanc.)	W. <i>bant</i> , a height; <i>ban</i> , high
<i>Bar</i> , a joke (N.)	Ir. Gael. <i>bearr</i> , to cut, to taunt or jibe; Gael. <i>abharr</i> , a jest, a joke
<i>Barraquail</i> , a spreader to keep traces from horses' heels (W.)	W. Arm. <i>bar</i> , a branch, a bar; W. <i>chwahu</i> , to spread, to disperse
<i>Bash</i> , the mass of the roots of a tree meshed together (Heref.)	W. <i>basg</i> ( <i>basc</i> ), a plaiting, a netting
<i>Bask</i> , to be drenched in a heavy shower (E.)	Ir. <i>basg</i> ( <i>basc</i> ), to drown; <i>bais</i> , water, heavy rain; O. Gael. <i>bais</i> , water; M. <i>baih</i> , sea; <i>baihagh</i> , drowning



## ENGLISH.

*Bauch*, lively, saucy, lusty (Cleve.)

*Bear*, a tool to cut sedge, etc., in the fens (Norf.)

*Bedwen*, a birch tree (W.)

*Beedy*, a chicken (Som.)

*Bellian*, the first of May (N.)

*Ben*, the figure of a woman set on the last load in harvest, dressed up with ribands, etc., "as a kind of Ceres" (Norf.)

*Bevish*, using violent and rapid motion (Swaledale)

*Bigge*, a teat, a pap (E.)

*Billy*, a bundle of wheat-straw (Som.)

*Bing*, to curdle as milk when turning sour (Lanc., Ches.)

*Blanscue*, a misfortune, an unexpected accident (Som.)

*B'leffin*, a block of wood (Lanc.)

{ *Blonk*, sullen (N.)

{ *Bloggy*, to be sullen (Som.)

{ *Bo*, a ghost, a hobgoblin (N.)

{ *Bogge*, *bogie*, id. (Heref.)

*Bogus*, applied to anything counterfeited or fictitious (W.)

*Boly*, a horse with white legs and face (N., Lanc., Cumb.)

*Bon*, a stock or stack. A collier works in the *bon* when he is employed in stocking coals (N.)

*Bop*, a father (Suff.)

*Borran*, a cairn, a heap of stones (Cumb.)

*Bracco*, diligent, laborious (Ches., Wilts.)

*Brannigan*, a fat, puffy, infant boy (Cumb.)

*Brath*, a push, a stroke (N.)

*Braugham*, *brauchin*, *breigham*, a horse's collar (N. Cumb.)

## CELTIC.

W. *balch*, full grown, proud, arrogant; Arm. *balch*, fier, fanfaron

Ir. Gael. *bearr*, to cut, to lop; *bearradh*, a cutting; *bear*, a spear; M. *baare*, edge of a tool; *baarey*, to cut

W. *bedwen*, id.

W. *bidan*, a small or sorry thing

Ir. *la Beal teinne*, the day of Beal's fire; W., Arm., M., *tan*, fire

Ir. Gael., *bean*, *ben*, a woman, a lady; M. *ben*, a female; Corn. *ben*; W. *ben-en*, a female. A term of respect

W. *bywâus*, lively, animated; *byw* (*biu*), living, quick

Ir. Gael. *biogh* (*bigu*), a tent, udder

W. *belysen*, a bundle of straw; *belys*, haulm or straw; Arm. *bilien*, a ball

M. *binjeau*, curds; *binjagh*, coagulation, curd

W. *blin*, wearisome, troublesome, afflicting; *yagwth*, a push, a thrust; Corn. *scuth*, plight; *tebel scuth*, evil plight

W. *blifyn*, a ball

W. *blwng*, a frown, frowning; angry

W. *bo*, *bug*, a bugbear, a hobgoblin

Ir. Gael. *boc*, deceit, fraud, a false dye

W. *bal* in *ceffyl bal*, a horse with a white face; Arm. *bal*, a white spot in a horse's front

W. *bon*, a stock, a stump

Ir. Gael. *boban*, a father<sup>1</sup>

Ir. Gael. *borr*, a knob, a lump; *borran*, *borruin*, a haunch, a buttock; Ir. *boireann* (pron. *burren*), a large rock

W. *brac*, lavish, open, free

Ir. Gael. *bronn*; W. *bron*, the breast, a protuberance; Gael. *bronnach*; Ir. *bronnagh*, big-bellied, corpulent; Arm. *bronnigen*, a lump of fat

W. *brath*, a stab; *brathu*, to stab

Ir. *braicam*; Gael. *braicheam*, a horse's collar; *braigh*, O. Ir. *brage*, the neck or throat; M. *brogham*, a horse's collar; *brogh*, the neck

<sup>1</sup> Graff, however, has O. H. G. *babes*, *papes*, *papa*.

## ENGLISH.

*Brich*, a kind of fungus used by the peasantry as a razor-strop (Y.)

*Brit*, to divulge, to spread news

*Brock*, the cuckoo-spit insect found in an immersion of froth (N., Whit., Lanc.)

*Brow*, brittle (Wilts., Glouc.)

*Bruss*, brisk; used of bees when they fly about and seem strong (Kent)

*Bud*, a calf of the first year (E.)

*Budram*, oatmeal-gruel (Norf.)

*Bully*, a parlour or small room (E.)

*Bun*, the tail of a hare (N.)

*Burt*, to press a thing (Som.)

*Bygorn*, a goblin (N.)

*Cad*, to nap or felt together (Cumb.)

*Cader*, a small frame of wood on which a fisherman's line is placed, or which rests on a scythe (Sal. S.)

*Caddle*, a dispute, a noisy contention (W. Dors.)

*Cady*, a hat (Lanc.)

*Caff*, a gardener's hoe (N.)

*Caird*, a tinker (N.)

*Callis*, to harden (Y.)

*Callow*, a stratum of earth above sand or gravel (E.)

*Callyvan*, a trap for birds (Som.)

*Camock*, a crooked tree or piece of wood (Clevel., etc.)

*Canbotile*, the long-tailed tit-mouse (Salop)<sup>1</sup>

*Cantle*, the head (Northumb.)

*Casket*, a stalk or stem (N.)

*Cat*, a small piece of wood used in the game of bandy (W. Lanc.)

## CELTIC.

*W. brech ddu* (speckled black), a kind of fungus, *Xyloma acerinum*

*W. brud*, O. *W. brut*, a record, a chronicle; *brudio*, to record, to publish events (W. u=Eng. i)

*W. broch* (*broc*), froth, foam; Ir. *bruchd*, froth

*W. brau*, brittle

*W. brya*, quick, nimble

Ir. Gael. *bodog*, *bodag*, a yearling calf; M. *bud*, a youth; *buddee*, a girl

Ir. Gael. *buadh* (*bud*), food; *ramhar* (*ram*), gross, thick

Ir. Gael. *buaille*, a stall, a dairy

Ir. Gael. *bun*, base, bottom; M. *bun*, base, tail

*W. burth*, a thrust; *burthio*, to thrust

*W. bug*, *bugan*, a goblin. Perhaps the last syllable is *W. orn*, fear, terror

*W. ceden*, nap of cloth, shaggy hair

Corn. *cadar*, a chair, a seat, a fisherman's frame of wood for his line; *W. cader*; Arm. *kador*, a seat, a chair

*W. Corn. cad*; Ir. Gael. *cath*, war, a battle; *cadell*, *cadal*, a conflict

*W. caead*, a covering

Ir. Gael. *caibe* (*cabe*), a spade; *W. caff*, a rake

Ir. Gael. *ceard*, an artisan, a tinker; O. Ir. *cerd*, faber (Ir. Gloss., p. 68)

*W. Arm. caled*, hard; *caledu*, to harden

Ir. Gael. *caville*, land, earth

*W. cail*, an enclosure; *man*, in comp. *van*, small

Ir. Gael., *W. cam*, crooked; *camog* (*camoc*), a curl, a twist; M. *cammag*, a crooked bat

*W. can*, white; *bothell*, a rotundity

Ir. Gael. *ceann*, the head; Ir. *cainteal*, a lump; *W. cantell*, a circle

Gael. *caiseag* (*caseg*); Ir. *cuisseag*, a stalk or stem

*W. cat*, a piece, a fragment; *chware-cat* (*cat-game*), the game of bandy

<sup>1</sup> The head, neck, throat, and breast, are pure white.

## ENGLISH.

*Caush*, a sudden declivity (N.)  
*Cave*, to rake (S. Lanc.)  
*Cawm*, to rear as a horse (Derb.)  
*Chee*, a hen-roost (Wilts.)  
*Chuck*, a schoolboy's treat (West-min.); provision for a feast (slang)  
*Clag*, a deer (N. Lanc.)  
*Clap*, low, marshy land (E.)  
*Clap*, a lip or tongue (W.)  
*Clecks*, the refuse of oatmeal (Linc.)  
*Clit*, heavy, close, applied to the weather or to bread (Dorset., Northamp., Som.)  
*Clize*, a covered drain (Som.)  
*Cloffy*, a slattern (N.)  
*Clour*, a small lump or swelling caused by a blow (N. Whitby)  
*Coak*, a round piece of hard wood used to insert one beam into another (W.)  
*Cockle*, the bur of the burdock (Dors.)  
*Codge*, a rough heap or mass (Leic.)  
*Coe*, a wear made of brushwood (W. Lanc.)  
*Cog*, a wooden vessel, a milk-pail (N.)  
*Cogue*, a small wooden vessel (W.)  
*Coise*, a master, a chief (Cumb.)  
*Colley*, butcher's meat (N.), a term for bacon (Teesdale)  
*Colly*, a shepherd's dog, a cur (Whitby, N.)  
*Colly*, a cottager's cow (Nhamp.)  
*Colon*, stalks of furze left after burning (N.)

## CELTIC.

Ir. Gael. *cas*, abrupt, steep  
*W. caff*, a rake with curved prongs  
*W. camu*, to bend, to curve  
 Corn. *chy*, *W. ty*, a house<sup>1</sup>  
 O. Ir. *cucam*, *cucan*, glossed as a bake-house (*pistrinum*), and as provisions (*penus*) (Z., 80)  
*W. cyllaig*, a stag  
 Ir. Gael. *clabar*, mud, mire  
 Ir. Gael. *clab*, *clap*, a lip, a wide mouth  
 M. *cletch*, bran, the husk of wheat; Gael. *cailleach*, husks of corn  
 Ir. *clith* (*clit*), close; Gael. *clith*, strong; *W. llud*, close, compact  
 Ir. Gael. *clais*, a ditch, a dyke; M. *clash*, a furrow, a trench  
*W. llyfi=cluffy*, slimy, dirty, a sloven  
*W. clor*, a bulb, a boss, an earth-nut; *clorren*, a rump  
*W. cocw*, a hard lump or round substance; *còg* (*còc*), a lump, the cog of a wheel  
 Ir. Gael. *cochall*, something of a round form, as a shell, a pod, etc.; M. *coggyl*, the core of a sore; Arm. *kok*, a holly-berry; *W. cocw*, a lump  
*W. cog*, a hump, a mass  
*W. cae*, an enclosure, a fence  
*W. cawg*, *cogan*, a bowl, a dish; Ir. Gael. *cuach*, a cup, a pail  
 Ir. *cosach*, a teacher; *cosc*, institutio (Z., 53); Ir. Gael. *cosc*, to teach, to chastise  
 Ir. Gael. *colann*, flesh; O. I. *colinn*, caro (Z., 51); M. *collee*, flesh; *colleeaght*, carnality  
 Ir. Gael. *coilen*, a whelp; *W. colwyn*, Corn. *coloin*, Arm. *kolen*, a little dog; O. Ir. "collar, i.e., *cu* (*canis*)" (Goidel., 77)  
 Ir. Gael. *colan*, a young cow; *collach*, a fat heifer  
*W. cal*, a stem or stalk; *calon*, stalks

<sup>1</sup> In the Celtic languages, *t* before a vowel is often pronounced as a soft *ch*. In the Manx language the Ir. *teagh* (house) is pronounced and written *chagh*; Ir. *teine* (fire), *chennen*; and Ir. *trobar*, *chibbyr*. Cf. the sound of Eng. *ti* in *ambition*, etc.

ENGLISH.	CELTIC.
<i>Colt</i> , a landslip (Glouc.), to crack as timber (Warw.)	<i>W. holti</i> (for <i>coltti</i> ?), to split, to crack
<i>Com</i> , a ridge (E.)	Ir. Gael. <i>com</i> , a round form, a waist, a trunk
<i>Coot</i> , the ankle or foot (N.)	Ir. Gael. <i>cos</i> , the foot; <i>W. coes</i> , the leg or foot
<i>Cothish</i> , morose (N.)	<i>W. cawdd</i> , <i>codd</i> , anger, vexation
<i>Cow-priest</i> , the wood-pigeon (N.)	<i>W. cuddon</i> ( <i>cudd</i> , h'ying), the wood-pigeon; <i>prys</i> , <i>orus</i> , wood, coppice
<i>Cradagh</i> , a troublesome child (Cumb.)	Ir. Gael. <i>cradh</i> ( <i>crad</i> ), to pain, vex, torment; <i>cradagh</i> , vexing, tormenting
<i>Craddy</i> , a dangerous or difficult feat, a deed of daring <sup>1</sup> (Lanc., etc.)	Ir. Gael. <i>crodh</i> , brave, daring; <i>crodhachd</i> , bravery; <i>W. crad</i> , heat, vigour
<i>Crag, crog</i> , a heap, a large quantity (North.)	<i>W. crug</i> , Corn. <i>cruc</i> , a heap, a hillock; Gael. <i>croc</i> , id.
<i>Craith</i> , a scar, <i>W.</i>	<i>W. craith</i> , a scar
{ <i>Cratch</i> , a swelling, a scab (N.)	<i>W. crach</i> , scabs
{ <i>Cratches</i> , a sore in a horse's heels (Bailey's Dict.)	
<i>Craw</i> , a shirt (Beds.)	<i>W. craw</i> , a covering; <i>crys</i> , a shirt
{ <i>Cream</i> , a cold shiver (Som.)	<i>W. cryn</i> , a shiver; <i>crynnu</i> , to shiver, to tremble; Arm. <i>kren</i> , a trembling, <i>krena</i> , to tremble
{ <i>Creigne</i> , to shiver (W.)	
<i>Creany</i> , very small (Lanc.)	Ir. Gael. <i>crion</i> , dry, withered, shrunken, small
<i>Creas</i> , measles (Y. Lanc.)	<i>W. cres</i> , heating; <i>crenu</i> , to heat, to inflame
<i>Crobbock</i> , a crooked stick (Lanc.)	<i>W. crwbach</i> , a crook, a hooked stick
<i>Crottle</i> , a small round body (Lanc., Cumb., Teesdale)	<i>W. crot</i> , anything round and short; <i>crothell</i> , a rotundity
<i>Crouch</i> , a wrinkle (Oxon.)	<i>W. crych</i> , a curl, a wrinkle
<i>Cuckold</i> , the seed-pod of the burdock (Glouc.)	Ir. Gael. <i>cochal</i> , a pod, a husk; <i>W. cocw</i> , a lump
<i>Cwiff</i> , to walk in an awkward manner (N.)	<i>W. chwyfo</i> , to move in a fluctuating manner, or to and fro; to waver
<i>Cunliff</i> , a conduit (N.)	<i>W. cawn</i> , <i>conyn</i> , a hollow stalk; <i>Uif</i> , a flood, an inundation
<i>Currel</i> , a rill or drain (E.)	Ir. Gael. <i>curr</i> , a fountain, a spring; <i>currel</i> , a little spring of water
<i>Cusk</i> , the wild poppy (Warw.)	<i>W. cwsq</i> ( <i>cūsc</i> )- <i>lys</i> , sleep-plant, the poppy; O. <i>W. cosce</i> , dormire (Z., 109)

The words in classes 2 and 3 are given only as examples of Celtic words found under these heads. If the examination could be extended through all the letters of the alphabet their number would be multiplied ten-fold. I have formed a list of such words to this extent. In addition, there is a large number of

<sup>1</sup> *Croddy*, to contest, to play roughly (N.)

words, chiefly in our dialects, that have no Teutonic equivalents, and may therefore be presumed to be Celtic, for which I have not been able to find any corresponding words in any of this class of languages. Probably they represent an obsolete portion of either Irish or Welsh, and some may yet be found in early documents, or lurking as provincial words in obscure places. We have, however, a sufficient number of Celtic words, either now or formerly in use, to enable us to determine many important circumstances connected with the status of the Celtic race in England.

1. The large number of these words proves conclusively that the Celtic element of the English people is of considerable extent. Dr. Guest has affirmed that all the facts that we have are against the assumption that the English race is half Celtic and half German. It is impossible to determine the proportion of each element with certainty, but it is exceedingly probable that in the north-west (the ancient Cumbrian kingdom, which was not finally conquered till the tenth century), in all the western provinces; in the south, too (besides Cornwall and Devon), in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Hants the proportion was quite as great of the Celtic population as of the Teutonic. It may have been greater. The Saxon or Angle became the owner or the tenant of the land; but the labourers of the manor or farm are always more numerous than the landlord or tenant, and it is very unlikely that the victorious Saxon warrior should have sunk at once to the condition of a ploughman or a swineherd.

But (2) the words used by our peasantry, denoting agricultural instruments, work, and products are to a great extent Celtic, proving that the Celts remained on the soil as labourers.

3. We may determine by this element of our language the different races of the Celtic stock that possessed the land before the Saxon conquest. Along the whole of the west, from Cumberland to Devon, the dialectic words belong to the Welsh or Cymric branch, with few

exceptions, and these were probably common in the pre-Saxon era to all the Celtic languages. In the Midland counties the affinity is not so close, and we learn that the Loegrians, though in some prehistoric time connected with the Cymry, were yet in England a distinct race. When we come to the Eastern counties we find that the dialectic words of Celtic origin are more allied to the Irish or Gaelic, and hence it appears, as Lhuyd and Edward Davies have inferred from names of places, that the Iceni and other tribes along the east coast were related to the older, the Gaelic or Irish, branch.

4. There is a very large class of Celtic words, denoting household occupations, dress, and food, with many words used by children or young people, showing that intermarriages must have been common between the two races.

5. There are many words of this class connected with disease, parts of the body, and plants used in the art of healing. The Celts must then have been, to a great extent, the physicians of this time. We know that the ancient Druids studied medicine,<sup>1</sup> and some plants are mentioned by Roman and other writers as favourite remedies of theirs. The art did not die out it appears. We know, too, that during the time of the Roman occupation many of the Latin race practised it in England. It had even been developed into separate branches, for we read of some who practised here as oculists, and in other departments of the art. The Britons would doubtless learn from this source whatever was known at the time as legitimate practice, and must have been better fitted to act in a professional

<sup>1</sup> "Medicinal botany, originally the only branch of medicine, was even engrafted upon the stock of the Celtic religion, and the Druids of the Gauls and Britons were at once their physicians and priests." (Whitaker, *Hist. of Manchester*, ii, p. 131.) "Druidas... hoc genus vatum medicorumque." (Pliny, 30, 1.) The samolus (marsh-wort), vervain, selago (a kind of savin), the mistletoe, and other plants, were used by them as medicines.

capacity than any of the rude tribes that came from the wilds of Germany. It is also evident that the Celts were not all bondmen. They were in part a free and a cultured race.

6. This is manifest also in the Anglo-Saxon laws, for the Briton is there recognised as a tenant, and even as a land owner, and the testimony of these laws is confirmed by words still remaining, or formerly in use, that are connected with land tenures. *Gavel, benerth, carno, cert, frith-leys, trite*, and others of this class are all Celtic.

7. There is a noticeable Celtic element connected with the arts of life, with trade and artisan labours. This is not nearly as large as the agricultural part, but it is amply sufficient to show that the Britons acted as butchers, joiners, and workers in metal; as keepers of horses and farriers also; as gardeners, as fishermen, and especially as miners.

8. Many names of plants, especially country names for them; terms expressing natural objects, as woods, hills, plains, and rivers; and some names of animals and of fishes are Celtic. Our hills and rivers generally retain their Celtic names; but the Saxon gave a name to the ham or burgh which he occupied or formed. We find, however, a considerable number of Celtic words in our place-names, and sometimes the Saxon only added to the original name, as when he called the well known hill in Lancashire *Penhull*, now *Pendle*, and the city of *Andred Andredaceaster*.

9. There are few terms in this class connected with law or government, but there are some that denote social relations, moral virtues, and their opposites. There are words, too, connected with the unseen world, denoting either ghosts or beings of the fairy race, with others of a less gentle kind. Many of our slang words, and others that are not adapted to "ears polite", are of Celtic origin.

10. Besides these several classes there are Celtic words that express thought and emotion, showing that



the union of the two races was finally complete. There was a fusion affecting the inward nature or constitution, and the English race, distinct from the German, may be proved to owe the *differentiæ* by which it is distinguished from either the Low or the High German to a large infusion of the Celtic spirit. It has thus been quickened into a more earnest, enterprising race, which by the union of a strong with a fervid nature has taken a place among the foremost races of the world.

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*Note.*—In vol. x, p. 212, l. 29, for “partly” read “elsewhere”.

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#### NOTES ON JOYCE CHERLTON AND HER DESCENDANTS.

(Continued from p. 66.)

EDWARD, LORD DUDLEY, K.G. sold Malpas, in Cheshire, and Northfield, in Worcestershire, beginning the downward course of the Suttons or Dudleys, as they were sometimes called, and died about the year 1532. By his marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Sir William Willoughby, he had with other issue a son and heir, John. The influence and wealth of the Lords Dudley at this time in Cheshire, Wales, and the Marches must have been immense, as may be seen more in detail in the State papers at the Record Office, and it seems wonderful how suddenly they fell.

John Sutton, who was commonly called John Dudley, and in after days Lord Quondam, laid the foundation of his future troubles by borrowing money during the lifetime of his father (a habit, be it observed, oftentimes as much the fault of the parents as of the child, when the former, from motives of pride or other folly, place their sons in positions with totally inadequate incomes). Thus, upon succeeding to the property, he found himself beset by difficulties, and none the less so that a

powerful man of his day, John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had cast envious eyes upon the towers and lands of Dudley, which he considered would be suitable to his name and pretensions of being descended from the noble house of Sutton.

Erdeswick tells us that John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the son of one Edmund Dudley (some time of Lincoln's Inn), who, creeping into favour with Henry VII, obtained of him the ward and marriage of Elizabeth, only sister and heir of John Grey, Viscount Lisle, whom he married, and by that means possessed himself of a goodly inheritance. Dr. Lingard says, "Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers of inventive heads and unfeeling hearts, despoiled the subject to fill the king's coffers, and despoiled the king to enrich themselves." They were put to death under Henry VIII on Tower Hill.

Edmund Dudley was the son of John Dudley, whom the Duke of Northumberland declared to be a younger son of John Sutton, Lord Dudley, but very few genealogists receive this statement, Dugdale says, that having regard to his marriage with Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs to John Bramshot, Esq., he concludes that he was a gentleman, though, perhaps, not of the barons of Dudley's line, "therefore", he continues, "how this formall story of a carpenter should arise I cannot well imagine, unless the grandfather or great grandfather of Edmund had been of that trade, for it is no wonder to see those that are sprung from as poor mechanicks, by their activeness in the world, to get wealth, etc., neither do we often find that those which are in truth of right noble extraction will boggle at matching their children with them." The story to which he alludes is as follows. There was a carpenter that worked in the abbey of Battle who had a son called John Dudley, because his father came from Dudley, and this John, being a boy of some ingenuity, was maintained and educated by the abbot, became at length solicitor to the house, and, afterwards growing

up, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Bramshot, Knight, of Bramshot, in Hants, by whom he had Edmund Dudley. The enemies of Elizabeth's favourite, Dudley, Earl of Leicester, called him son of a duke, brother of a king, grandson of an esquire, and great grand child of a carpenter. The carpenter was in all likelihood the happiest of his race, says a commentator, for he perhaps was an honest man and died in his bed. It is stated that Empson, the coadjutor of Dudley, was the son of a sieve maker.

In the "Visitations of Warwickshire", Harl. MS., 1198, Sir John Spencer of Wormleighton, who *obt.* 1521, married a daughter of Empson of Southam, co. Warwick, and sister of Sir Richard Empson; and, again, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Empson of Easton Neston, co. Leicester, married—firstly, George Catesby of Ashby Legers, co. Northampton, and secondly, Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, co. Warwick, who *obt.* in 17 Henry VIII.

But to return from this digression, John, Lord Dudley, oppressed with debts and exactions, was forced into a sale of his estates and castle to the rapacious John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, with whom, however, they prospered little, since he was attainted and executed on the 22nd August 1553, having been the principal instrument in placing upon the throne his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, in opposition to Mary Tudor. His great estates of course then passed to the Crown. Lord Dudley and his family lived in the greatest state of poverty, and he, dying in 1553, was buried, as were several of his descendants (in the direct male line) at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He married at the beginning of the sixteenth century Lady Cecily Grey, daughter of Sir Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset by Cecilia, daughter and heir of William, Lord Harrington, *sa.* six mullets, *arg.* pierced *gules*, by Lady Catherine Nevill, daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury. Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was son of Sir John, Lord Grey of Groby, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Widville (afterwards

queen of Edward IV), and he was the son of Edward, *jure materno* fifth Baron Astley, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Ferrers, son and heir of Sir William, Lord Ferrers of Groby. He was generally called Lord Grey of Groby, and died 1457. His mother Joan, heiress of Lord Astley, brought into the family Astley Castle, in Warwickshire, which was a seat of her descendants for many generations.

Lady Dudley (for so she must have been, the barony being one by writ of summons, though her husband never had any summons, probably because he was so utterly ruined) shared with her children the hard fate which overwhelmed Lord Dudley, and depended for food upon the charity of some excellent religious women, while her younger sons, it is said, supported themselves by manual labour. Cicely, Lady Dudley, was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1554. The eldest son and heir, Edward, Lord Dudley, served under his uncle, Lord Leonard Grey, in Ireland, and was diligently employed in putting down the miserable Catholics of that country, so that he gained the good opinion of Cromwell, being then a staunch Protestant; but upon the accession of Queen Mary to the throne became convinced of his errors; and his father dying about that time, on Sept. 21st, 1553, he caused him to be buried with a solemn requiem mass, and other observances of the Catholic Church, thus securing to himself the good will of the new sovereign; and we find him summoned to Parliament in 1554. He also received some of his ancestral lands near Dudley. Being rather of the nature of the willow than that of the oak, he managed to continue in good odour with Elizabeth after her accession; and from the State Papers it seems evident that in one of her progresses she paid him a visit at Dudley Castle, the grant of which she confirmed to him. By his first wife, Catherine, daughter of Lord Chandos, he had an only daughter; by his second, Jane, daughter of Edward Stanley (eldest son and heir of Thomas, second Earl of Derby) by his wife Dorothy,

daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, he had issue, two sons, Edward and John ; and by his third wife he had no issue.

Edward Lord Dudley died in 1586, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster. His wife, Jane, was daughter of Edward Stanley (*obt.* 1574) by Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, as previously stated, and granddaughter of Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby, by Anne, daughter of Edward Hastings, the son of George Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon (and, by right of his mother, Lord Hungerford, Botreuse, Moels, Mohun, Molines, etc.), 1530, whose wife was the Lady Anne Stafford, daughter of Henry Duke of Buckingham.

Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, was son of Sir George Stanley, K.G., K.B., who died 1498, having married Joane, the sole daughter and heiress of John Lord Strange, of Knockin, by Jacquett, daughter of Richard Widville, Earl Rivers. The father of John Lord Strange was Richard le Strange, and his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham of Sterborough ; while his grandfather was John, the descendant of Guy le Strange, a younger son of the Duke of Brittany, and husband of Maud, daughter and coheir of Sir John de Mohun, sister of Phillippa, Duchess of York, and Elizabeth Countess of Salisbury.

Thomas Stanley, the first Earl of Derby, and father of Sir George, had married the Lady Elizabeth Nevill, sister of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, surnamed "the King Maker"; and it was Sir William Stanley, brother of the first Earl, who held such large lands in North Wales, and from whom so many Welsh families are descended. Edward, the eldest son, succeeded to the title and estates of Dudley on the death of his father; and as he was the last male of the Sutton race, bearing the title of Dudley, and living at Dudley Castle, so was he one of the worst, giving himself up to self-indulgence of every kind, violating the most sacred ties, and squandering the means which had been pre-

served through a long line of ancestors for himself, thus sinning against his forefathers and posterity. "Corruptio optimi pessima"; and few things are more sad than to see the descendant of noble ancestors render himself meaner and more degraded than those who have had no advantages of education or position. Could his ancestress, the coheiress of Powis, she who came of princely blood, have looked forward into the ages to come, and seen her descendant, Edward Lord Dudley, wasting the substance of his fathers in vice and immorality; spending on those who were the companions or offspring of his crimes the wealth which ought to have been used for the benefit of his wife and family, who were consequently neglected,—would it not have been sufficient to make her desire that her race might be shortened rather than be extended to one who disgraced it. However, let us hope that there may have been in Lord Dudley's career more acts of virtue than appear; for it is sometimes the case that men's evil deeds live after them, while their virtues are interred with them. The probability seems that Lord Dudley's intellect was weakened and deranged by vicious indulgence, for some of his acts seem scarcely those of a sane person. Take, for example, the following account from Erdeswick. On Oct. 12, 1592, the Lord Dudley during the night raised a force of one hundred and forty persons, who were armed with bows and arrows, forest-bills, staves, etc., and went to Prestwood and Ashwood (which his father had sold to the Lytteltons), from the latter of which places he took three hundred and forty sheep, the property of the executors of Sir John Lyttelton, and had them driven off to Dudley. He also entered the grounds of Mr. Lyttelton at Prestwood, with one hundred and ten persons, and drove off fourteen kine, one bull, and eight fat oxen, which he also kept within the walls of Dudley Castle. Mr. Lyttelton sued him, and obtained a warrant; but his Lordship's servants threatened to cut in pieces the bailiffs who came with it. Some of the cattle Lord Dudley killed and ate, and others he

sent towards Coventry, under the conduct of sixty men strongly armed with calivers, chasing-staves, etc. (some on horseback, some on foot), to sell them. After they had gone about eight miles, suddenly (in the night time) he raised the inhabitants of Dudley, Rowley, Sedgeley, etc., and with a force of seven hundred or eight hundred men, all armed, he went after the cattle, and fetched them all back to Dudley Castle.

Meanwhile, his wife was left in so destitute a condition that she was obliged to sell her jewels to support herself. This lady, Theodosia, was the daughter of Sir James Harrington (*obt.* 1591; buried at Exton, co. Rutland) by Lucy, daughter of Sir William Sydney (to whom Penshurst in Kent was granted) by Anne, daughter of Hugh Pagenham, Esq., and granddaughter of Nicholas (son of William Sydney of Stoke Dabernon) by Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir William Brandon, cousin of Charles Duke of Suffolk. Sir James Harrington was the son of Sir John by Mary, daughter and heir of Robert Moton of Pichleton, co. Leicester. Another of the daughters of Sir James Harrington was the wife of Bonitto, Duke of Frantasquo, in Spain, by whom he had a daughter, wife of the Duke of Feria, whose only daughter was married to the King of Portugal; so that from the above Sir James Harrington, as has been said, are descended, etc., eight dukes, three marquises, seventy earls, nine counts, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons, of whom sixteen were Knights of the Garter.

In the state papers at the Record Office there is an account of certain proceedings against Lord Dudley (and unfortunately his son Sir Ferdinando's name is mixed up in the matter) by Martha Gravenor, who, being a Roman Catholic, had incurred the heavy penalties enacted against the members of that religion in the time of Elizabeth, and which until lately disgraced the English statute books. For recusancy, and refusing to attend the Church of England service, she was fined at the rate of £20 per month; so that her pro-



perty speedily melted away, and two-thirds of it were given by James I to Sir Ferdinando Dudley, to whom she subsequently sold the remainder ; but apparently never, during her lifetime, succeeded in getting the money for it, although she obtained several decrees in her favour against him. He was probably so hard pressed for money that he could not pay, and so like many who are hopelessly involved, tried to make arrangement after arrangement to procrastinate, if possible, the day of payment, hoping that meanwhile some good fortune may turn up to relieve them from the state of insolvency, into which they sink deeper and deeper.

Edward Lord Dudley died 23rd June 1643, and was buried at Dudley. His wife Theodosia seems to have died before that time. They left issue a son, the above-mentioned Sir Ferdinando, who died of the small-pox in 1621, and is buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and four daughters. The only son married Honora Seymour (daughter of Edward, Lord Beauchamp), who was buried at Dudley at night on 23rd March 1620. This lady's father, who died in 1619, was the son of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who died in 1621, by the Lady Catherine Grey, second sister and co-heir (with Lady Jane Grey, some time Queen of England, and wife of Lord Guilford Dudley) of Henry Grey, K.G., Duke of Suffolk (beheaded in 1554) by the Lady Frances Brandon (*obt.* 1563), eldest daughter and co-heir of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, K.G., and sister of Lady Anne Brandon, who was wife of Edward Grey, the last Lord Powis of that house, and whose mother, it will be remembered, was Margaret, daughter of Edward, Lord Dudley. Thus it will be observed that a connection was kept up with Wales and the Marches. The wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was Mary Tudor, Princess of England and Queen Dowager of France, daughter of Henry VII of England, and Elizabeth, heiress of the house of York. It may be remembered that at a tournament given in honour of



his marriage the Duke of Suffolk appeared in a garb half of cloth of gold and half of cloth of frieze, bearing this inscription—

“Cloth of gold, do not despise,  
Though thou art matched with cloth of frieze;  
Cloth of frieze, be not too bold,  
Though thou art matched with cloth of gold.”

The mother of Lady Honora was Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers of Bryanstone, in the county of Dorset. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was brother of Lady Jane Seymour, wife of Henry VIII and mother of Edward VI. He was the eldest son and heir of Sir Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England during the earlier part of Edward VI's reign, but whose life was taken at the instigation of the Duke of Northumberland (Dudley) upon a false charge of conspiring against him. Edward VI, in his journal under the date 22nd January 1552, writes: “The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning”. He was unpopular, both from having consented to the death of his brother and also from having built his magnificent palace of Somerset House in the Strand, in which he used up the materials of several churches, which he had pulled down for that purpose. His duchess, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope of Sudbury by Elizabeth, daughter of Fulk Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine, and granddaughter of Thomas Stanhope by Margaret, daughter of John Jerningham (or as it was then spelt, Jernegan) of Somerley, co. Norfolk, is said to have been an ambitious lady, and to have urged on her husband in his designs to obtain power. The father of the Duke of Somerset was Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, co. Wilts, and his mother, Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlestead, co. Suffolk (Harl. MS., 1484), his grandfather being John Seymour, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Darrell of Littlecote, co. Wilts. This Sir George Darrell married Margaret, daughter of John first Lord

Stourton, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Wadham of Merrifield, co. Somerset.

It will be remembered that Sir Ferdinando Sutton or Dudley died before his father, and left an only child, the heiress of her grandfather, but entirely neglected by him, since his whole attention was taken up by his natural children, who were engaged in a method of smelting iron by sea coal, as it was then called. The recklessness of Lord Dudley had led to its natural results. He was hard pressed on all sides for money, and the remnants of the patrimonial estate were eaten up by accumulations of interest, so that he looked around for some one from whom he might still borrow. Here, however, we must make a digression.

(*To be continued.*)

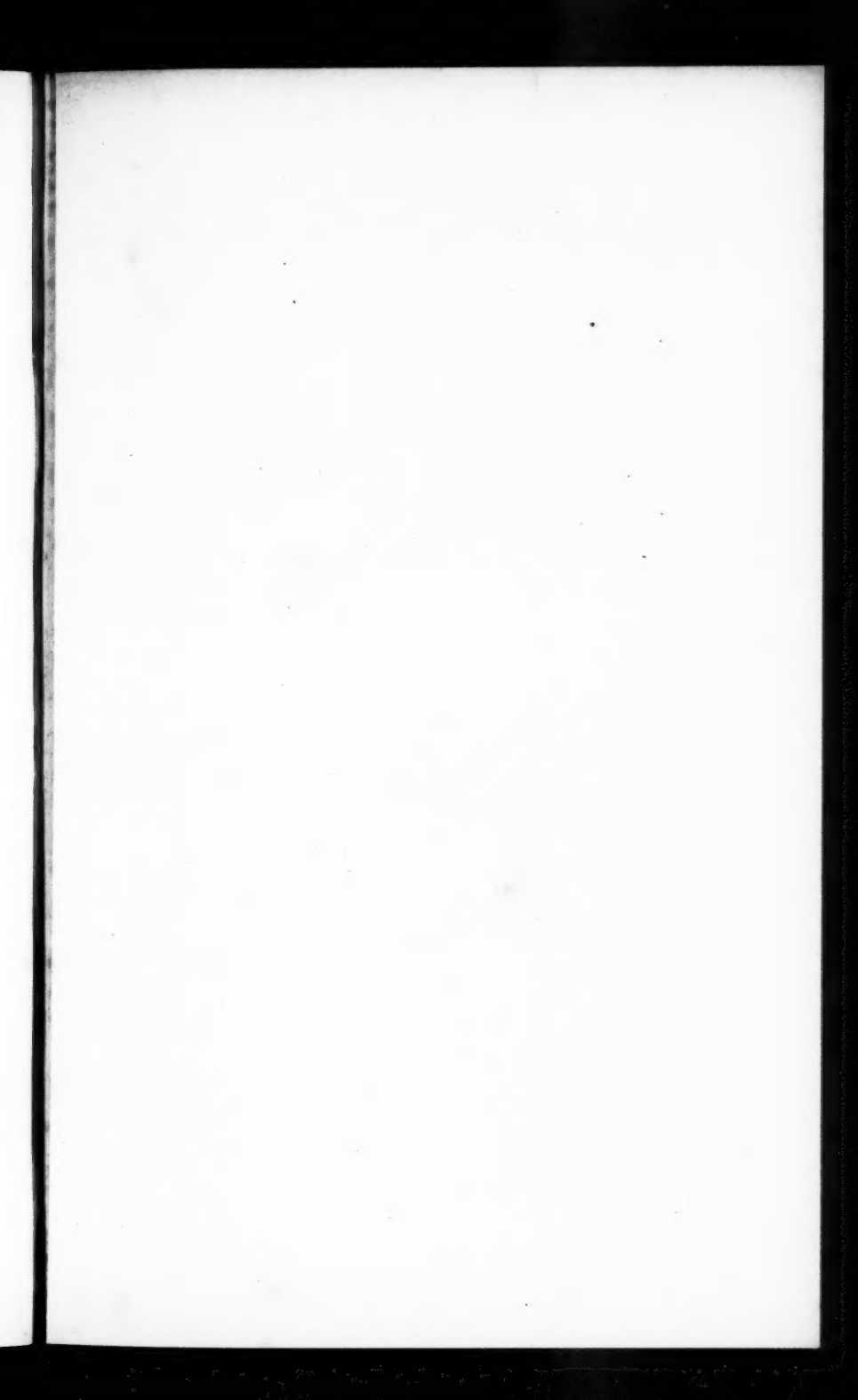
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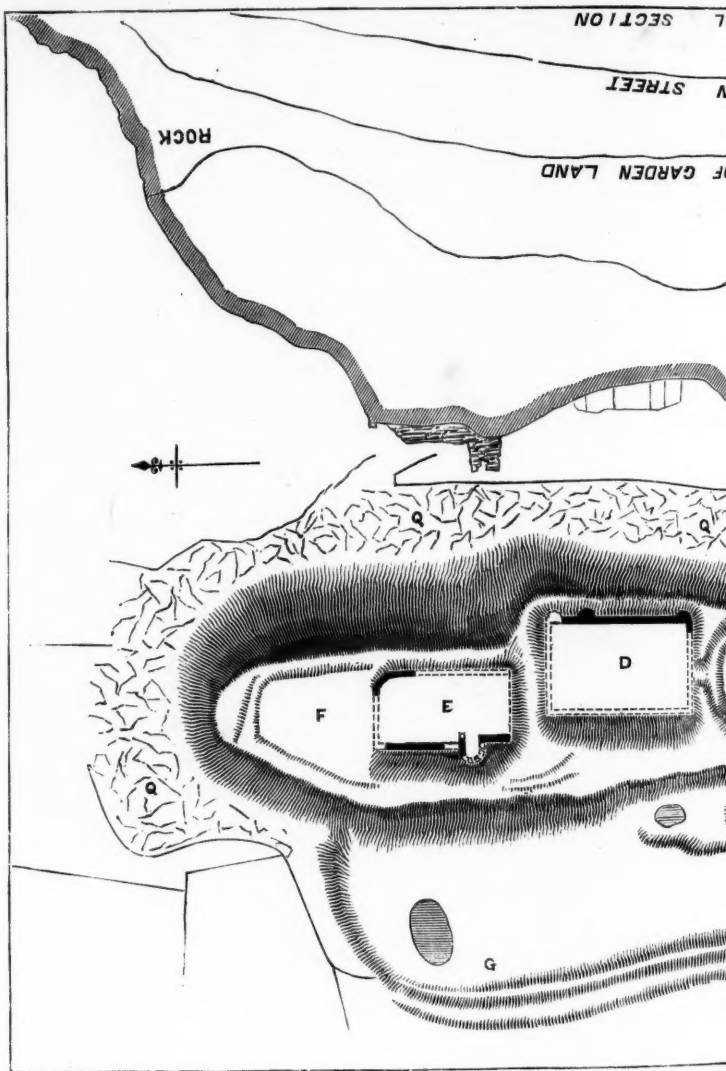
## THE CASTLE OF MONTGOMERY.<sup>1</sup>

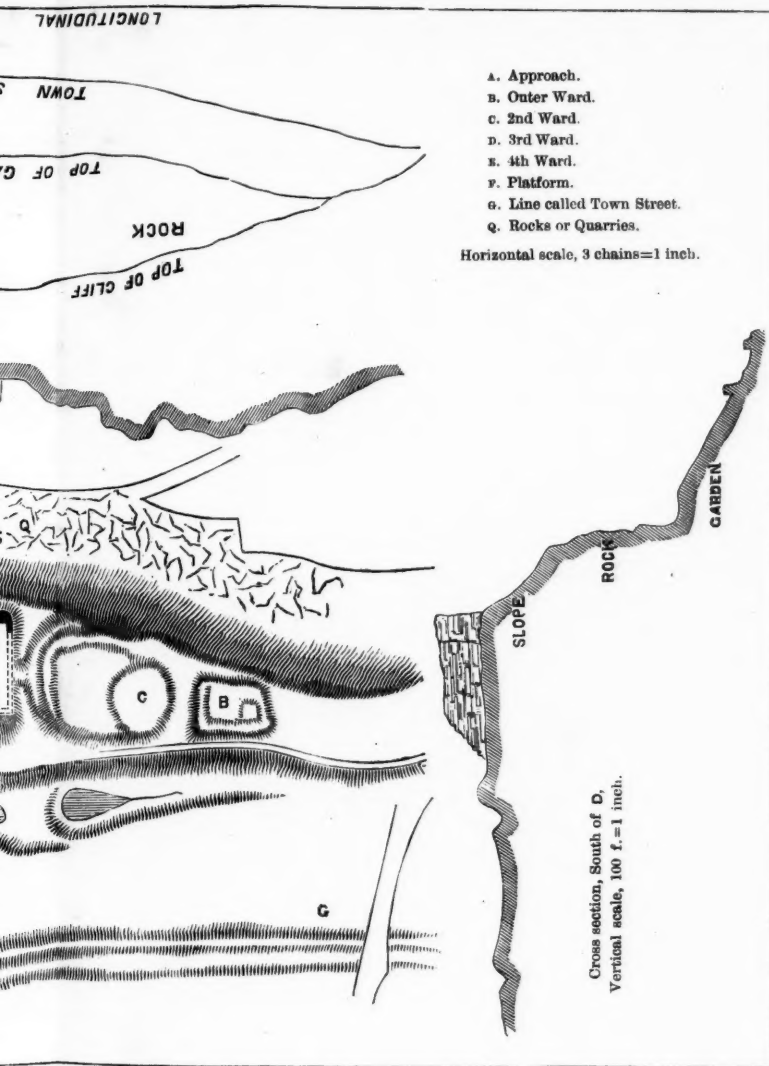
### NOTES UPON ITS STRUCTURE AND HISTORY.

It is by a singular chance that a rude and artificial mound of earth, in an obscure part of a foreign province, should have given its name to a British county and to the town that forms its capital. The proper names of places in Britain are usually either British or English. Once given in the latter tongue, they have but seldom been changed. Some of the counties, many of the cities, more of the rivers, as Kent, Lincoln, Thames, bear names the root of which is British. Most of the shires, hundreds, sokes, parishes, and lesser territorial divisions in England, being laid down by the English, bear English names: some descriptive, as Clifton or Moretown; others derived from their vegetation, as Bucks or Ashton; others from an early or distinguished owner, as Kenilworth, Dudley, or Tewkesbury. But

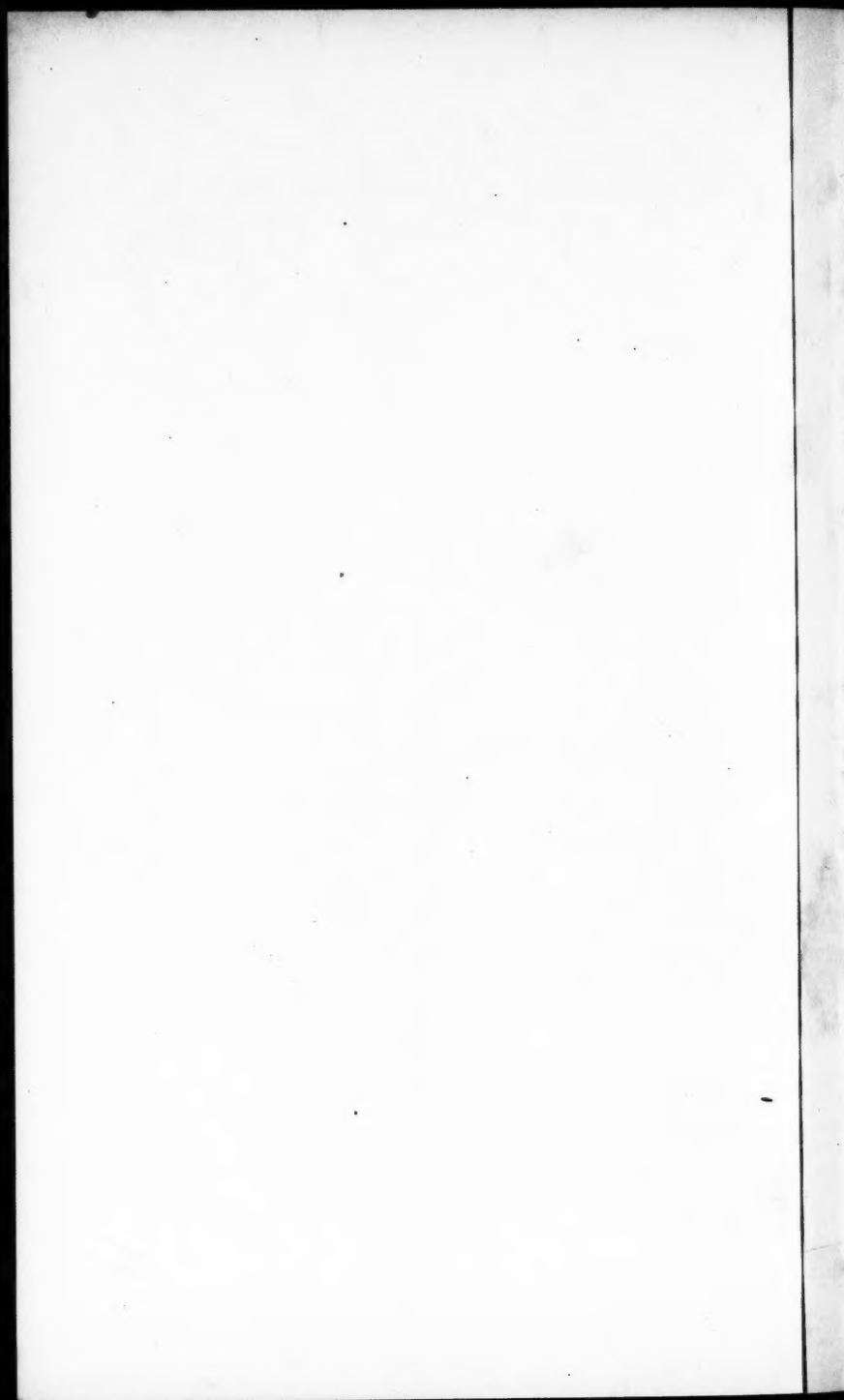
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MONTGOMERY CASTLE.



when, long after these were named, to-names or surnames came into use, land-owners, whether English or Norman, derived them from their possessions, and never, save as a mark of distinction,—as Burton-Hastings,—gave their name to them. New creations, as Battle or Jervaulx, and some other ecclesiastical houses, bear, indeed, new names; but these do not appear to have displaced any already existing. Pontefract is a name probably derived from an accidental circumstance; but Richmond and Montgomery are solitary instances of a shire or a capital town deriving its name from the inheritance of a Norman lord.

The Castle of Montgomery is registered by that name in the *Domesday Survey*, and placed in the hundred of Witentreu, in the county of Salop. "Ad castellum de Montgomeri habet ipse comes iiii carucas et vi libras denariorum. habet de uno fine de Walis pertinente ad ipsam castellariam. Rogerius [Corbet] habet ibi ij carucas, et de Walis, cum fratre suo habet xl solidos." And further on, "Ipse comes construxit castrum, Muntgumeri vocatum. Ad quod adjacent lii hidæ et dimidia quas tenuere Seuuar, Oslac, Azor, de rege Edwardo, quietas ab omni geldo; ad venandum eas habuere." Here, then, we have the name of the Castle, its inclusion in an English county, its castelry, its chief lord, Earl Roger, and the fact that in the time of the Confessor three Englishmen held fifty-two hides and a half about it as a hunting ground. The Englishmen are entered a few lines on as thanes. Seuuar was, no doubt, like Siward, a very great, as was Azor a considerable, landowner in the same county. "De fine de Walis" shews that Earl Roger's territory included Welshmen with his English tenants, just as the names of places, and especially of parishes, in the district shew a great and early establishment of English there. The castelry included twenty-two members at no great distance from the Castle rock; and the Castle was one of about fourteen strong places mentioned in *Domesday* as then existing in Hereford, Monmouth, and Salop. It only

differed from most others, and especially from such as Clun, Ludlow, Causs, Oswestry, or Whittington, in being held by the Earl himself, and not by one of his secondary barons.

Earl Roger, the "Comes" of the above entry, upon the fall of Morkere added Shropshire to his Sussex earldom; and to him, with powers equal in many respects to those of royalty, was committed the safety of the middle March with its extensive but imperilled English settlement there. On the site of the British Pengwern and of the Saxon Shrobsbury, folded securely within a remarkable convolution of the Severn, he established his chief seat upon, and at the base of, the English mound which still looks down upon the deep and wide river, and with its connected fragment of the ancient city wall forms a striking contrast to the bustle and action carried out upon the railway, and within its ephemeral buildings at the foot of the slope. There is a tradition, founded, however, upon error, that the Earl's lieutenant in the more advanced frontier of his dangerous territory was a certain Baldwin whose name is preserved in the Welsh appellation of Tre-Faldwin for the town and Castle, and of Frydd-Faldwin for a remarkable encampment on the summit of an adjacent hill. But Baldwin, though not an uncommon name with the Normans, does not occur in Shropshire among either the tenants in chief or the under-tenants in *Domesday*. There was, indeed, a William Fitz-Baldwin, lord of Rhydcors, in the reign of Rufus, but he was a South Wales man, and unconnected with Earl Roger. But whether as Tre-Faldwin or Montgomery, whether named from the hand or the head, it is clear that the Castle stood in a position most offensive to the pride and patriotic feelings of the Welsh. The vale of the Severn, from Welsh Pool to a little short of Llanidloes, had for centuries been a field of bitter contest. The Roman, the Dane, and the Englishman, had done violence to the "virgin daughter of Locrine", and stained her molten crystal with blood. Its broad band of flat



and fertile meadow made Powys-land a prize of great value, and the steep and lofty hills between which it was contained were highly favourable to both the sudden attack and safe retreat of the Welsh. The plain and its lower eminences traversed by the dyke of Offa, are thickly studded with moated mounds and earthworks thrown up in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and which shew how far-reaching was, even in that remote period, the Mercian and English power. The mound thrown up by Æthelflæd in 916, at Chirbury is destroyed, but those of Moat Lane, of Newtown, of Hên-domen, of Kerry, and Nant-cribba, remain, and are as large and as well defined as that of Shrewsbury itself, and of the very type of those more famous royal residences in Elmete and at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, or of the works near Livarot, whence Earl Roger derived his name, and which have survived all subsequent additions in stone and lime.

That Earl Roger, between his acquisition of the earldom and the year of the *Domesday Survey*, had built a castle, is on record, but what sort of a castle may be a question. Norman towers were plain, solid, of durable design and excellent workmanship; too stout and too useful to be intentionally pulled down, and usually, as at Wattlesborough, outlasting all later additions; but assuredly there is now no trace of any work of Earl Roger on the Castle rock, nor anywhere near it; for it has been supposed, without shadow of probability, that his castle was placed, not upon the rock, but somewhere in its neighbourhood. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Earl Roger's castle was of a less durable character than is usually supposed, and that this will account for its quick destruction in 1095 (two years after his death) by the Welsh, accompanied by the slaughter of his successor's (Earl Hugh) garrison. This was the event that brought Rufus into the district, to the Earl's aid, in 1096, when, though he did but little, he seems to have recovered the site of the castle, and to have given the Earl an opportunity of re-

building or restoring it. Earl Hugh is said to have done so; but however this may have been, Montgomery is not mentioned among the castles held by his elder brother, but successor, Robert de Belesme, the wicked Earl, on his ruin and banishment in 1102. Here, again, the probability is that any castle then standing was of a light and not very durable character, not worthy of being mentioned with Shrewsbury or Bridgenorth.

With the fall of the House of Montgomery, the earldom escheated to the Crown, and with it its Castle and castelry. Henry I upon this remodelled the Hundreds of Salop, and raised Montgomery into an Honour or Barony, throwing into it the greater part of the adjacent Seignory of Chirbury and several other manors. The valuable and, on the whole, compact territory thus constituted was at once granted by Henry to a certain Baldwin de Bollers, who was the husband "Sibillæ nepotis regis", whatever relationship, legitimate or illegitimate, that word may indicate. The lady is also designated—possibly from her mother—as "Sibil de Faleise". All that is known of Baldwin is that he already held five knights' fees of the Honour of Warden. He held the new Honour, *in capite*, of the King, *per baroniam*; his under-tenants holding of him, most of them (as set forth in the Hundred Rolls) by castle-guard. Baldwin began his reign by the very necessary act of building a castle, though what he actually constructed is uncertain, for there is no existing masonry that can be attributed to him or his immediate successors. Still he is reported to have built a castle; and that he did so is probably just as certain as that it is his name, and not that of any lieutenant of Earl Roger, that is identified with the rock by the Welsh. It is also reported that while Baldwin was preparing this Castle, he occupied the British camp above, known, in consequence, as Frydd-Faldwin. This is most improbable. The camp, a very large and very fine specimen of a British work, would hold five or six thousand men, and could not well be defended by less than a third of

that number, for its front is extensive, and its slopes, though steep, are by no means so steep as to stop, or materially to check, the onset of a tribe of light armed mountaineers. Baldwin's force was more likely to be five hundred than five thousand men, and no doubt depended for its power far more upon its arms and discipline than upon its numerical strength. The Castle rock would have held such a force with great security while the operations of a castle were in progress, and probably did so.

The descendants of De Bollers, incorrectly given by Dugdale, have been disentangled by Mr. Eyton, the real historian of Montgomery, with his usual patience and skill, and seem to be as follow :

Baldwin de Bollers, lord of Montgomery, 1121, married—1, Sibil de Faleise, and had also a second wife. By Sibil he had Stephen de Bollers, 1160, lord of Montgomery, who married Maria, and had Robert, who died young. Matilda, Sibil's daughter, married Richard Fitz-Urse, 1130-1158, and had Reginald Fitz-Urse (one of Becket's murderers) and Margery.

On Stephen's death the Honour seems to have passed to Almeric de Bollers, probably a son or descendant of Baldwin by his second wife, and who had it in 1162. He was succeeded by Robert de Bollers, 1176-1203, who died childless, but left a widow, Hilaria Trusbut, who had dower till 1241. The heir was Robert's brother, Baldwin, 1203-1207, who also died childless, and whose widow, Wenllian Tet, had dower till 1243. This ended the male line.

The next heirs were the Fitz-Urses. Reginald, Becket's murderer, had a daughter and heiress, who married Robert, and had issue, William de Courtenay, lord of Montgomery, who died 1214, childless, leaving Ada a widow with dower, who died 1217. The next heir was the descendant of Margery, sister of Reginald Fitz-Urse, who married Richard Engaine, 1177-1185, and had Richard, 1185, father of Vitalis Engaine, 1217, who claimed the Honour on the death of William de Court-

enay, but only obtained a portion of it. Thomas de Erdington was a rival and more successful claimant. He held the Castle, 1215-18; but much of the Honour was granted in 1216 to William de Cantilupe with certain reservations. In 1225 the King, who had all along treated the Castle as a royal fortress, claimed the Honour as an escheat, and the whole was taken by the Crown, the dowers being allowed. Erdington, who had been Custos of the King's castles of Shrewsbury, Whitchurch, Shrawardine, Morton, Clun, Montgomery, Moreton, and other Shropshire castles, was repaid the outlay he had made upon them.

Some sort of castle undoubtedly occupied the rock of Montgomery between 1102 and 1225, and it is said to have been twice taken and destroyed by Llewelyn, who on the death of John gained some advantages in Wales, and was allowed the custody of all the land that had belonged to Gwenonwhyn in "Wales and Mungumer", of which he had been disseized during the war between John and the barons. This he was to hold till Gwenonwhyn came of age. Probably the result was that when Henry entered, he found the rock laid bare, for from that time the Sheriff's accounts shew annual and very considerable payments for military works there for many years, and we read of the King's new Castle of Montgomery. As early as 1225, when the Welsh war made the place of great importance, nearly £1,000 is paid out, £1,100 in 1224, and above £500 in 1225. Master carpenters are sent to construct defences of timber, *brétasches*, to strengthen the Castle; and miners or quarrymen from the Forest of Dean, no doubt to prepare stone, and to hew out the cross ditches. A fit chaplain is to be appointed to serve in the Castle chapel, under the parson of Montgomery, and the King is to decide about the emoluments or "obventions" of the chantry. These were afterwards allotted to the mother church, that is to the parish church of Montgomery, which was the mother church of the chapel. Of the whole district, Chirbury was the

mother church. To the parson was also given the corn tythe of the lands newly cultivated, of which he already had the small tythe. Sums of money are also allowed for assisting in clearing the land of underwood and harbours for robbers; and on one occasion the King alludes to the time "when we took in hand our Castle of Montgomery". Henry himself was there in 1224, and all the masonry now standing is pretty evidently his work, and of this period.

1223 was the year of Llewelyn's submission, and Godescal de Maghelines was castellan, and received drafts of miners and carpenters, and quarrels from St. Briavel's forges. Henry, the King's brother, and other knights, formed the garrison, and the chapel was in use.

In 1224 the King granted an annual fair in "our manor of Montgomery", and Hubert de Huse was coupled with Godescal as Custodes of the Castle, Honour, and Vale of Montgomery; and soon after Baldwin de Hodnet was Seneschal, and William de Cantelupe had seizin of the fees of the knights and free tenants annexed to the Honour. A fair was also proclaimed to be held under the Castle, and protections were granted to those attending.

In 1227 Henry changed his policy, and granted the Castle to Hubert de Burgh, with two hundred marcs yearly for its custody for life, and an augmentation in war time, which speedily occurred; for in 1230 Llewelyn, having hanged William de Braose, marched towards Montgomery, the garrison of which suffered from an ambuscade near Kerry, whither they had gone to cut down a large wood. The Welsh followed them to the Castle, and besieged it. Henry came to their relief. In 1233 De Burgh lost Henry's favour, and with it Montgomery, and the new Constable was appointed by the King. A windmill was erected near the Castle, to grind for its use. In 1235 a tower beyond the Castle wall had been repaired, as had the town walls, for which nine wooden turrets were provided. Wine and various stores were sent to the Castle, which in 1245 was attacked by

the Welsh under David, and notwithstanding all the money so recently spent upon it, was found not to be in good repair, as appears from an inquisition held upon it in 1249, which specifies particularly the donjon or keep; the chamber and chapel; the wooden turret or *brétasche*, and the bridge near the chapel; the balister's house; the wooden turret next the town; the stable; the wooden turret beyond the outer gate; the grange and wall round it; the pentiscie, penthouses, or lean-to's, carrying the woodwork belonging to five wooden turrets; the small tower, or garrit, outside the gate; the "barrier" (*jurullum*) near the chapel; and the porter's lodge. For the repairs of these is wanted £59 : 3 : 8. At this time there was also a water-mill connected with the Castle, "Stanlawes mill", which only worked in winter.

In 1254 Henry granted Montgomery to Prince Edward, who, with the consent of the King and Council, appointed a Custos. In 1264 (after Lewes), Henry, then in durance, ordered Adam Fitz-Philip to surrender the Castle. Adam, however, refused unless the order was backed by Prince Edward. In 1267, 29th Sept., Henry was here, and received Llewelyn's homage, and recognised his principality, for which he was to pay 30,000 marcs.

Edward I let the Castle in farm to Bogo de Knovill for £40 per annum, which rent was mostly expended upon the town defences, the town being a royal borough under a charter from Henry III in 1227, strengthened by one from Hubert de Burgh, by which leave was given to enclose it within a wall and ditch, of which the four gates remained in Leland's days. In 1274 Prince Llewelyn was summoned to meet Edward's commissioners at the Ford of Montgomery, a favourite trysting place in that reign; but the Welsh prince did not attend.

The reduction of the Principality by Edward I necessarily destroyed the value of the castles along the March, as bulwarks against the Welsh; and the strong

domestic government of that sovereign put an end to the continued rebellions of the Marcher Barons. Under these circumstances the border castles were either allowed to fall into decay, or were employed only as county prisons. In any case they had little or no military value ; nor, with the exception of a few passages in the reign of Edward II, and for a while during the Glyndwr rebellion, were they regarded as defensible, or so employed. Long afterwards, indeed, during the wars of Charles and his Parliament, such of these castles as remained tolerably perfect were garrisoned, defended, usually taken and retaken, and finally slighted or blown up by the prevailing party. Montgomery seems to have had its share of these misfortunes, and no doubt its walls and towers suffered ; but in all probability here, as elsewhere, far more damage has been done by the use of the ruins as a quarry in modern times of peace and prosperity than by the violence attendant upon war. Here, as in most other border castles, the military history of the building closes with the reign of Edward I, up to which point, or nearly so, all that can be said of the Castelry, Honour, and descent of the Castle, has been collected from the original records, combined, digested, and recorded, by Mr. Eyton in his admirable *History of Salop*. For the later history of the Castle may be read with advantage a paper by the Rev. George Sandford, recently printed in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*.

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The position of Montgomery Castle is formed by nature, and needed only to be seen to be recognised as very suitable for a border fortress. A narrow and lofty ridge of rock, lying nearly north and south, rises abruptly between two valleys ; that to the east very suitable for the town which has sprung up within it, that to the west narrower and equally steep, but rising on its further side to far loftier elevations, one of which is crowned by the encampment of Frydd-Faldwin, and



the other, rather lower and more to the south, is occupied by a much smaller work of very different and probably English type. The ridge is in length about 500 yards, and that part of its summit occupied by the Castle and its works about 330 yards. Its greatest breadth is about 60 yards, of which the Castle may occupy about 40. The ridge is reached from the south-east or town quarter by a steep road, but towards the north it terminates in a sharp point, whence a very steep slope falls to the top of a cliff of rock, the whole height being perhaps 250 feet. The contiguous sides are also very steep, so much so that a stone set rolling from the top does not stop till it reaches the gardens and orchards 150 feet or more below. The parish church stands within the town, upon an eminence opposite to but lower than the Castle. The view from the ridge extends over the plain of the Severn to the Welsh mountains in one direction and to the Shropshire hills in the other. Below, in the direction of Chirbury, Offa's Dyke may be discerned about a mile distant, the Castle being upon its outer or Welsh side. The ridge is traversed by three ditches quarried in the rock, and dividing it into four platforms, which formed the four wards of the Castle, each of which appears to have been enclosed by walls or palisades, and connected with the others by bridges of timber. The northern and strongest ward is also by some feet the highest ward, and formed the donjon or citadel; keep there was certainly none. This ward was about 52 yards north and south by 32 yards east and west. It is nearly rectangular, and its four faces are scarped and revetted, that portion of the wall being about 15 feet high. Upon this stood the curtain and the outer walls of the contained buildings. A considerable building stood on the west face, along the southern half of which a wall remains about 9 feet thick, which supported a basement and two upper floors, of which holes for the joists are seen. In the first floor is a recess, with a window and two guardrobes, with shafts in the wall. The window was pointed, and



that is all that can be ascertained. In the upper floor is also a guardrobe. Connected with this fragment of wall is half a horse-shoe tower 30 feet diameter, projected 25 feet from the wall. This also had a basement and two upper floors, but little of it now remains. In the outer side of its wall, to the north, are the remains of another guardrobe shaft, and, high up, part of a straight mural staircase. From hence northwards is a mere curtain. On the three other faces only the revetment or traces of it remain. A heap of rubbish at the south end may be the foundation of the gatehouse. There is no trace of a well, hall, or chapel. The only ashlar remaining is a sort of quoin in the substance of the great wall, and in a window jamb in the horse-shoe tower. The masonry is rude but coursed rubble.

Between this and the third ward was a ditch about 20 yards broad, dammed up at its lower or west end to form a pond, probably for the benefit of the Castle cattle. There is no trace of a bridge of masonry here. The third ward is a regular oblong, carefully scarped, and probably revetted all round. Only the eastern face is visible, and there the wall is about 20 feet high, with the remains of three half-round solid buttresses 6 feet in diameter, and something like traces of two more. There is no masonry above the surface of the platform, which is about 40 yards north and south by 35 yards east and west. A ditch of about 8 yards divides it from the second ward.

The second ward is roughly oval, about 50 yards long by 30 yards broad, and its southern end is occupied by a rocky mound. There is no trace of masonry connected with this ward, which may have been defended with timber. The ditch dividing this from the first ward is not above 4 or 5 yards broad and very irregular, the depression being apparently in part natural.

The first ward is smaller than the rest, irregular and rocky. It bears traces of dry walling, and upon its platform are the foundations of a rectangular building, and at the south end of a sort of tower, indicated only

by a heap of earth. It may have been about 25 yards by 15 yards. It may be that the first and second wards were merely natural platforms palisaded with timber *brétasches*, as they are called in the Close Roll; but the third and fourth wards were certainly walled and must have been strong. To the north, 20 feet to 30 feet beyond, and below the north ward is a level triangular platform of turf about 60 yards in the side, and protected by a light bank, on which may have been a fence. This platform, by nature so strong, was probably intended for a pasture for cattle. At the other or south end is also a platform 20 feet, or 10 feet below the level of the first ward, and now occupied by a cottage. Here was the entrance, which probably was covered by some sort of tower, protected in advance by a palisade.

Scanty as are the remains of this Castle, it may safely be concluded that they present no masonry of Norman date, whether early or late. The plan of the works is of course dictated by the natural outline of the rock, and it therein resembles Bere, though that is a little earlier than Henry III, and Dolforwyn, probably a work of that king's reign. Henry III's border castles had no keep. They were mostly mere enclosures, the curtains being set rather thick with towers. The front view of this Castle, taken in 1610, and reproduced in Mr. Sandford's paper (*Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. x, p. 96), though grossly wrong in perspective, represents very fairly the kind of enclosure in use in Henry III's time, and even in that of Edward, where there was no room for the concentric form.

It is pretty clear that this view, taken from the town or east side, represents the third and fourth wards only, and tends to strengthen the inference that the other two never carried works of masonry. The drawing shows ten towers, of which the four in front seem to be represented by the several half-round mural buttresses already mentioned. If this be so the fourth ward is represented by two towers only, which is out of all pro-

portion to its dimensions and importance. Possibly being a little obscured by the third ward the artist may have neglected it.

Altogether this Castle, as it now stands, seems to be the new Castle referred to by Henry III, and built early in his reign, nor is there any trace of any earlier work, although there is every reason to believe that such there was, and that it or they stood on this site. Moreover, as to these earlier works, tempting as is the position, there is nothing in the way of earthwork upon it which can be safely attributed either to the Welsh or the English. That Earl Roger constructed a castle of some kind at or near the present site is certain, and it is very improbable indeed that with a position so convenient and made so strong by nature he should have selected any other, nor is there in the immediate neighbourhood any trace of any other work likely to have been constructed later than the Conquest.

It has been mentioned that the borough of Montgomery had licence in the reign of Henry III to enclose the town within a wall and ditch, and although gates and ditches do not necessarily imply the more costly addition of a wall of masonry, it is certain that the town was fortified, and Mr. Sandford's view of 1610 shows a wall including an area somewhat wider than the present town, and, what is very unusual, this wall includes the Castle, instead of the Castle forming a part of the circuit. No traces of any wall of masonry are known to exist, but outside it, to the west, and at the foot of the slopes of the castle is a bank with a ditch, looking very much like a local dyke of the age of that of Offa, but which is reputed to be what remains of the town wall. The curious thing is that this dyke, which, while opposite to the Castle, is commanded and therefore strengthened by the Castle rock, passes southwards along the steep slope of an opposite hill, and is there commanded from the outside, and would be utterly untenable. This is often the case with Offa's dyke, which, though laid out with a bank and outer ditch, was really

rather a boundary than intended at every point for defence. Its real defence was obviously the general fear of the Mercian power, rather than the apprehension of an armed force at every point along its line. It may be that the town wall was placed upon this bank, but the bank itself seems older, and part of an earlier boundary. For the plan and section of the Castle and Castle rock, which accompany this paper, and add materially to any little value that it may possess, the author and his readers are indebted to the skill and kindness of Mr. Mickleburgh of Montgomery.

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#### ON CERTAIN MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN TENBY CHURCH, SOUTH WALES.

THE Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association for the year 1880 having been fixed to be held at Pembroke, it can hardly be doubted but that one of the excursions will be to Manorbier and Tenby. It is in anticipation of such a visit that I venture to give a few notes on the monumental effigies in Tenby Church, which, though not of a rare class, are yet of a description sufficiently interesting as to draw to them the attention of the antiquary.

1. In the north wall of the north aisle of the church, beneath an ogee-shaped arch enriched with crockets and a finial, and flanked by crocketed buttresses (the hollow moulding of the canopy containing the four-leaved flower at intervals, whilst the soffit of the arch is cinquefoiled), lies the recumbent effigy of a lady. The original and proper position of this effigy has been transposed, and the head of the effigy placed eastward, a fault which ought to be remedied. Her dress consists of a cap and veil with a wimple over her chin; her gown is much abraded, and her sleeves are loose. From within these appear the close-fitting sleeves of the inner

vest or garment. The hands are conjoined on the breast, as in prayer. The head is supported by statuettes of two angels, which, as we commonly find them in this position, are much mutilated; the feet also are mutilated. The stone out of which this effigy is sculptured is of a schistous nature. This monument is of the fourteenth century.

2. Under an arch in the north wall, west of the north door, is a high panelled tomb of the fifteenth century. On this lies the effigy of a corpse, represented as in an emaciated condition. This is partially concealed by a winding-sheet or shroud. The left hand is disposed at the side; the right hand is represented as holding the shroud. The drapery is well designed, and the sculpture is good. The custom of thus representing the body after death, in sculptured effigies, was introduced in the fifteenth century, and examples of this description are sufficiently numerous. The bodies are represented partly nude and partly covered by the shroud. In the sixteenth century the skeleton, "the lively figure of death", was not unfrequently sculptured on monuments; whilst in the seventeenth century effigies representing bodies totally enveloped in shrouds, the face only being visible, are not unfrequently found in our churches.

3. Between the chancel and a chantry chapel lying southward of it is a high tomb, the south side of which is divided into four recessed compartments with obtuse, ogee-headed canopies. Three of these are filled with sculpture in relief. In the first is represented the figure of a bishop in *pontificalibus*, the mitre on whose head is much mutilated. Two small female figures kneel before the bishop, one of which has the butterfly head-dress. In the second compartment two similar figures of females are represented as kneeling before a statuette of St. Catherine. In the third compartment is the figure of a merchant kneeling before a faldstool. He is represented with his head bare, wearing a long side-gown with gipciere or purse attached, cap and tippet.

In the fourth compartment is a mutilated inscription. On this tomb lies the recumbent effigy of a merchant. He is represented with his head bare, habited in a long gown, with a vent at the neck disclosing the inner vest. The sleeves of the gown are somewhat full, and cuffed or turned back at the wrists. The gown is belted round the waist, and on the right side is worn the *gipciere*—a good example; the hands are conjoined on the breast, as in prayer. On the left side of the head is a cap attached to a tippet, which latter is worn over the left shoulder, falling down in front. Round the neck is worn a collar of rosettes. The head reposes on a peacock, whilst the feet rest against some animal, much mutilated. This is an interesting monument of a late period in the fifteenth century, and may be ascribed to John White.

4. Eastward of the above is another high tomb, of which the south side is divided into four compartments. In the first are sculptured female figures in relief, kneeling before the statuette of some saint, the drapery in which the saint appears is well defined. In the second compartment is the representation of St. John the Baptist, holding the *Agnus Dei*. He appears vested in a gown and mantle, with a nimbus round his head. In this compartment also are two female figures kneeling. The third compartment contains, sculptured in relief, a group of seven figures, more or less mutilated; one is of a merchant kneeling in front. In the fourth compartment are sculptured three small figures of corpses, more or less enveloped in winding sheets. At the east end of the tomb a shield is sculptured.

On the top of this tomb lies the recumbent effigy of a merchant. He is represented bareheaded, with clubbed hair. He is clad in a long side gown, open in front at the neck, with the collar turned back and the sleeves cuffed at the wrists. On the right side the *gipciere* is worn; on the left, hanging over the shoulders, is the tippet, attached to which is the hat. The head reposes on a fish-like animal, and the hands are con-

joined in prayer. This monument appears to be of or about the close of the fifteenth century, and may be ascribed to Thomas White.

5. On the left side of the ascent to the altar is the matrix of a brass; the incised effigy of a bishop, the indents of the mitre, and of the crook of the pastoral staff are clearly visible.

It is for some local archæologist to determine the probable persons of whom the foregoing monuments are commemorative. Leland in his short description gives us no information. The slab on which was the incised effigy of a bishop is probably commemorative of Tully, Bishop of St. David's A.D. 1460-1482, who is said to have been buried in this church. The two high tombs on the south side of the chancel are commemorative of the family of White, celebrated merchants of Tenby towards the close of the fifteenth century. The easternmost being the tomb of Thomas White, some time merchant and Mayor of Tenby, who died A.D. 1482. The westernmost that of John White, the date of whose death is not apparent, but was probably later than that of Thomas.

MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

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## ON TWO SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES IN MONTGOMERY CHURCH.

IN the south transept of Montgomery Church, wherein an altar formerly existed, the usual appendage to which, a piscina, still remains in the eastern part of the south wall, are two sepulchral effigies in armour, placed on the pavement, and apparently removed from high tombs either formerly existing in this church, or perchance moved (which I think likely) hither from tombs in the neighbouring conventual church of Chirbury, some two



miles distant, on the suppression of that religious establishment.

The most ancient of these represents a knight, or one of higher grade, on whose head appears a vizored basinet of unusual design, encircled by a wreath or orle of rosettes, so as to counteract the pressure of the tilting helme, with its crest, on which the head reposes. The vizor of the basinet is raised. Attached to the basinet is a camail, or tippet of mail, covering the neck, breast, and shoulders. The face, which is exposed, exhibits the moustache worn over the upper lip. Flexible epaulieres appear beneath the camail, protecting the shoulders, whilst the upper and lower arms are encased in rerebraces and vambraces, and the elbows in coudes, all of plate.

The defensive armour of the body is covered with an emblazoned jupon; no doubt formerly painted with the proper charges, though the colours no longer remain. Round the skirts of the jupon, and about the loins, is a horizontal bawdrick or belt, rich in detail, and buckled in front, and below this appears the scalloped skirt of the jupon. The thighs, knees, legs, and feet, are encased in cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets, all of plate except the insteps, which are protected by gussets of mail. The straps of the spurs alone are visible. The hands are conjoined on the breast, as in prayer, and on the right side a fragment only of the sword is left. I should assign this effigy to the close of the fourteenth century, or reign of Richard II, *circa* A.D. 1395-1400.

Since writing the above I have read the late Mr. Boutell's notes on this effigy, published in Part XIII of *Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire*, wherein he describes the tilting helme as surmounted by a panache, or upright crest of feathers, rising from a crest, coronet,—a cognizance of the Mortimers, as appears from the seal of Edward de Mortimer, Earl of March, A.D. 1400. Mr. Boutell also remarks that the armorial insignia displayed on the jupon of



this effigy are unquestionably those of the Mortimers, Earls of March.

The second effigy is one more recent in date, and this I would ascribe to the latter part of the fifteenth century, *circa* A.D. 1480. The personage represented appears bareheaded, with long, untrimmed, flowing locks of hair; his head reposes on a tilting helme, and his face is close shaven. Covering his neck is a collar or gorget of mail, and beneath that a collar of roses. Square plates or pallettes appear in front of the arm-pits; the shoulders are defended by epaulieres of flexible plates; the arms and elbows by rerebraces, vambraces, and coudes, all of plate. The hands are bare, and conjoined on the breast, as in prayer, and on the fingers are many rings. The breastplate is globular, with taces escalloped upwards; and to these angularly shaped tuilles are attached. From the right hip to the left thigh is a sword-belt disposed diagonally, and beneath the taces appears an apron of mail. Cuisses, genouilleres, and jambs, protect the thighs, knees, and legs; and laminated sollerets the feet, which rest against a dog. Spur-leathers appear in front of the insteps.

Mr. Boutell places this effigy at about A.D. 1460-70, and states that about the neck is the Yorkist collar of suns and roses sustaining the white lion of the house of March. Mr. Planché, *Lancaster Herald*, states that the collar is the family one of Edward IV, with the white lion of March appendant, and consequently gives the probable date to A.D. 1461-83. The white lion of the house of March would indicate, I think, this effigy to be, like the former, that of a Mortimer.

I conjecture it to be not only possible, but probable, that both these effigies were removed to the place they now occupy from the neighbouring conventual church of Chirbury, for in the destruction of the conventual churches many sepulchral effigies were removed thence to neighbouring churches. It is a matter of inquiry, which I cannot answer, whether the Mortimers had any connection with Chirbury, and Eyton's *History of*

*Shropshire* is on this point deficient. The account of Chirbury in the *Monasticon* is very short, and throws no light on this matter, one well deserving of further investigation.

MATTHEW HOLBECHÉ BLOXAM.

Rugby. 23rd December, 1879.

### MANORBEER CASTLE :

#### EVIDENCES OF ITS EARLY OWNERS.<sup>1</sup>

BY SIR GEORGE DUCKETT, BART., F.S.A.

THE early records of Manorbeer, which have come to light up to this time, are, historically considered, the reverse of satisfactory, and encumbered with difficulties, a great deal relating to this interesting place having been hitherto left to the imagination. Had not the castle and its surroundings been recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis, who was born there, and thus casually alluded to by him, we should have hitherto had but little clue as to its original possessors. The following contribution of a few brief but authentic notices of some of its early owners down to the time of Henry IV, chiefly worked out from the Public Records, and which have hitherto escaped notice, may possibly tend to its elucidation, or at any rate facilitate further researches into its obscure history.

The manor, with its castle, has been variously termed Maenor-Pyrr, Manopir, Mainorpirrhe, Manorpeer, and

<sup>1</sup> The authorities for this paper are—Rawl. MS. 133, fo. 44, Bibl. Bodl.; Inq. p. m., 8 Ric. II, No. 38, m. 13; ditto, 29 Edward I, No. 82; Patent, 5 Edward III, p. 1, m. 38; Inq., 17 Edward II, No. 75; ditto, 5 Edward III, 2nd Nrs., No. 45; Camb. Reg., ii, 184; Inq., 33 Edward III, 1st Nrs., No. 16; Arch. Camb., Jan., 53, Charter D, de Rupe; Inq., 36 Edward III, 1st Nrs., No. 38; Giraldus Cambrensis (Hoare), i, 14, 201; Dods. MS. 97, fo. 120b, Bibl. Bodl.; Patent, 1 Henry IV, 6; Hanmer, Ch. r., p. 402; Calendar of Documents, Ireland (Sweetman); Griffith, History of Wales, 1867.

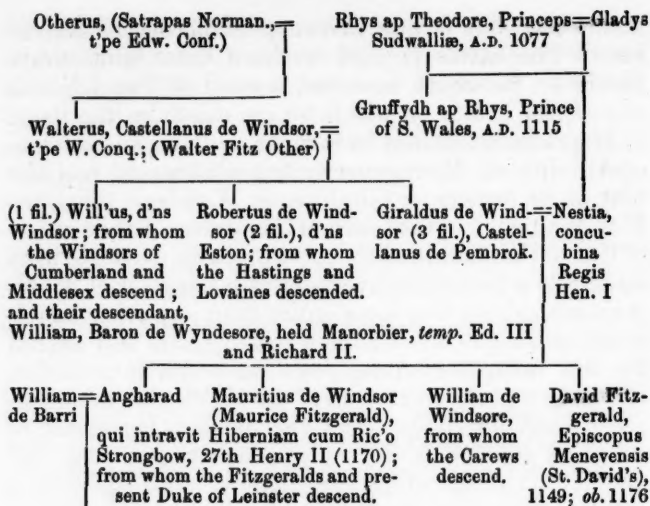
Manor-Pyr, but is now known as Manorbier or Manorbeer. The castle is said to have been built *temp.* Henry I. To whom, however, it owed its foundation is one of the points on which we are chiefly in the dark. It is generally ascribed to William de Barri, an associate of Arnulph de Montgomery; but whether he was the first of its owners, or Giraldus de Wyndesor (Giraldus Fitz Walter), the Castellán of Pembroke, father-in law of the said William, and the most probable person to have undertaken its erection, remains still a matter of doubt. As a stronghold it is more entire than any other castelated building of the kind now existing, and less altered by the ravages of time from its original condition, affording a perfect example of an old feudal establishment; and its escape from the damage incidental to intestine warfare is not only a remarkable fact, but another point for which very little or adequate reason can be given.

Etymologists have been at some trouble to derive its appellation; but rejecting that of Giraldus Cambrensis, who, one of the De Barri family, was born there (as has been said) in the twelfth century, and calls it the "Mansion of Pyrrhus", with that of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, "the Manor of the Lords", we incline to the derivation of Nicholson, viz., from "*maenawr*", a district surrounded by a stone boundary; and "*pyr*", that shoots out in a point, forming a headland."

Giraldus Cambrensis (or De Barri) was the fourth son of the above named William de Barri by Angharad, daughter of Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Theodor, Prince of South Wales;<sup>1</sup> and Gerald Fitz Walter, the husband of Nesta, was father also of David Fitz Gerald, the Bishop of St. David's, whom Giraldus Cambrensis eventually succeeded in the bishopric. The following table shews the descent of the reputed and earliest owner on his mother's side:—<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis (Hoare), i, 14, 201.

<sup>2</sup> Dods. MS., Bibl. Bodl.



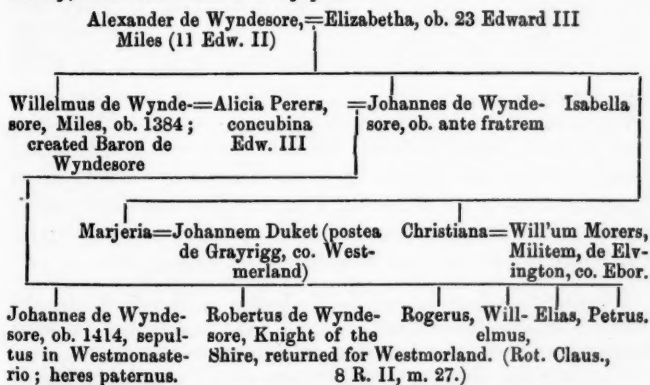
Giraldus de Barri, or Cambrensis (4 fil.), natus circa 1146, apud Manorbier.

The family of De Barri, whoever may have been the original founders, remained in possession of the castle and manor of Manorbeer till the reign of Edward III, and continued to lay claim to it till that of Richard II, when they were granted in fee simple to John de Wyndesore. And here we are met with a difficulty. This latter had been, towards the latter part of the reign of Edward III, *enfeoffed already* in the manors of Manorbeer and Penalley by his uncle, Baron de Wyndesore, who appears to have held them for some time previously during that reign. He was in direct descent from William, lord of Stanwell, the eldest son of Walter Fitz Other, and brother of Gerald Fitz Walter, the father-in-law of William de Barri (*ut supra*); so that there was an undoubted family connection or kinship. In what way, save by purchase or grant from the Crown, these manors came into the possession of William de Wyndesore, the Baron of the 5th Richard II, the husband of Alice Perers, and Viceroy of Ireland, we have no record; but we know beyond dispute, from

his *Post-mortem* inquest, that he held them in fee. Of the twelve inquisitions taken in different counties after his death, the following is that taken for South Wales:

"Sudwallia.—Inquisitio capta apud Pembrok die Veneris proximo post Festum S[c'i Luc' Evang'] (Oct. 18, 8 Ric. II) &c. coram Hugone Bisley, escaetore &c. Juratores dicunt, quod Willelmus de Wyndesore chivaler non fuit seisitus de aliquibus terris seu tenementis, quæ de domino Rege seu de aliquo alio in comitatu Gloucestriæ et Herefordie ac Marchia Wallie predict' tenentur in capite, in dominico suo ut de feodo, ne servicio, die obitus sui. Set dicunt quod Willelmus de Beauchamp chivaler et Hugo Segrave ch'r feoffati fuerunt per predictum Willelmum de Windesore de castro et maneriis de Maynerbyr et Penaly in comitatu Pembrochie, per quoddam scriptum feoffamenti eisdem factum in feodo simplici, virtute cujus feoffamenti ipsi feoffati seisiti fuerunt, et seisinam illam continuarunt tota vita ipsius Willelmi de Windesore, quæ quidem castrum et maneria non tenentur de domino Rege in capite. Et post mortem<sup>1</sup> ejusdem

<sup>1</sup> William de Wyndesore died at Heversham in Westmoreland in 1384. John de Wyndesore, who had a command at the battle of Shrewsbury, died 2 Henry V (1414), and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (S. Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*.) As this branch of the Windsor descent has been hitherto simply conjectural, and wrongly recorded by genealogists, who appear to have copied one from another, the following is given, founded upon the will of William de Wyndesore, the epitaph of John (his nephew) in the above Abbey, and other documentary proof:



"Ex voluntate Willelmi de Windesore Militis, facta apud Eversham, et epitaphio Jo' de Windesore", etc. (Rawl. MS. 133, fo. 44, Bibl. Bodl.)

Willelmi, quousque feoffarunt quemdam Johannem de Windesore, consanguineum predicti Willelmi, pro eo quod predictus Willelmus sepius in vita sua ordinavit et constituit, quod predicti feoffati inde predictum Johannem post mortem ejusdem Willelmi feoffare deberent in feodo simplici. Et dicunt quod predictus Willelmus de Windesore postea exitus et proficua de predictis castro et maneriis inde provenientia cepit, non ut tenens liberi tenementi, set ad voluntatem predictorum feoffatorum et non aliter, etc. Willelmus de Windesore obiit die Jovis proximo post festum Exaltacionis S. Crucis, et quis propinquior heres ejus est penitus ignorant."

Independently of what we ascertain from this inquiry, in respect of John de Wyndesore, the former's nephew, the following Patent Roll entry shews the manor of Manorbeer, etc., to have been granted to him in fee in 1 Henry IV :

"Rex concessit Johanni Windesore in feodo maneria de Manorbier et Penaley in com. Pemb. in Wallia; et Bijelly, et omnia tenementa que fuerunt David de Barri militis in Wallia." [6 Patent, anno 1<sup>o</sup> Hen. IV.]

To reconcile this apparent discrepancy, especially with regard to David de Barri, who will be seen presently to have been dispossessed of the manors of Manorbeer and Penalley at an earlier date, and in 36 Edward III is stated to have held at Begelly two knights' fees of John de Carew (*Inq.*, 36 Edward III, 1st Nrs., No. 38), it would seem necessary to consider the last owners before the manors came into the possession of W. de Wyndesore, bearing in mind that they had been uninterruptedly held by one of the De Barri family up to that date. By the following *Post-mortem* Inquest, taken 33 Edward III, we are enabled partly to establish this point, and form some idea as to the eventual tenure of the Windsors:—

Inquisition taken before the Escheator of Hereford and the Marches of Wales, on Monday before the Feast of the Purification, on the death of Avisia, wife of Oweyn ap Oweyn.

The jury say, that John de Barri was seized in his demesne as of fee of the manors of Maynerbire, Penally, and Begeley, in the

county of Pembroke ; which John de Barri gave the aforesaid manors to David de Barri, his brother, and to the heirs male of the said David.

David de Barri then demised the manors to the said John de Barri for the term of his life.

On the death of David, John, who had only a life-interest in the said manors, alienated them to Richard ap Thomas. Thereupon Richard ap Thomas forthwith demised the manors to John de Barri and Beatrix, his wife, for their lives.

David, son and heir of David de Barri aforesaid, recently entered the lands, whereupon John de Barri gave up possession to the said David in the warranty.

David, son of David de Barri, held the manors for some time, until Richard de Barri, brother of David de Barri the elder, dis-seized, *vi et armis*, David, son and heir of David de Barri, and died seized of the said manors.

Whereupon Avisia, the wife of Oweyn ap Oweyn, who was the daughter and heir of Richard de Barri, entered the said manors, and died seized of them. The inquisition says that she held the manors of Manorbeer and Penalley of the heir of Laurence de Hastynges, late Earl of Pembroke, who at the date of the inquisition was under age.<sup>1</sup>

So far the *Post-mortem* Inquest of 33 Edward III ; but it is desirable to further identify the parties named in it. John de Barri, the name first occurring, would appear to have been living A.D. 1301-24. The first date is authenticated by his grant (*ut infra*) of the advowson of Manorbeer to Pembroke Priory, and that of Penalley to the Priory of Acornbury<sup>2</sup> (*hodie Aconbury*) in

<sup>1</sup> John de Hastings was eleven years old at this time. His father, Lawrence, had been confirmed in the Earldom of Pembroke in descent from Aymer de Valence. His first wife was the Princess Margaret, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III.

<sup>2</sup> "Agreement between Dom' John de Barry, s. and h. of Dom' David de Barry, on the one part, and D'na Kath' de Eymell or G... Prioress of Cornbury, on the other. Namely, the Prioress and Convent may apply to their own uses the advowson of Penally, so that they are held to have one chaplain in said church of Penally, to celebrate divine service for the souls of John and Beatrix his wife, and of their ancestors, and all the faithful ; and when John and Beatrix die, an obit for them to be celebrated in choir (*in coro cum nota celebrare*). And if Prioress and Convent neglect to keep



30 Edward I (Inq., 29 Edward I, No. 82; Patent, 5 Edw. III, p. 1, n. 39). By the second date, John de Barri is shewn to have held at Manorbeer five knights' fees of the value of one hundred marcs (Inq., 17 Ed. II, 2nd Nrs., No. 75). His Irish property named in the inquisition does not concern this inquiry. He was son and heir of David de Barri, who in 1267 (52 Henry III), was Justiciary of Ireland (Hanmer, Ch. r. P 402), and his wife was Beatrice, as seen by his charter to Acornbury. There was an earlier David, however, who in 14 John (1246) held four knights' fees in the county of Pembroke, which, on the partition of the lands of Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, amongst his coheirs, were assigned to Joanna de Monte Canisio (Munchenesy); but it is presumable that he was of the generation immediately preceding David, the father of the said John. The inquisition we have quoted shews that he had two brothers, David and Richard, of whom the former predeceased him, leaving a son of the same name, of whom presently. The surviving brother, Richard, appears to have been living in 1334 (8 Edward III), for he was present at the passing of a final concord in that year (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 184); so that he was succeeded by his daughter, Avisia ap Oweyn, some time after that date.

There can be no question that up to that time, or, indeed, later, the Barris of Wales (Manorbeer) and the Barris of Ireland (Olethan)<sup>1</sup> were one and the same

this agreement, they may be distrained by the Regales of the cy. of Hereford. Dated at Cornebury, 13 April 1301" (30 Edward I). Seal pendent to the above,—[*Gules*], two bars gemel [*arg.*], being the coat of Barri.

It would seem, from the chartulary of this Nunnery (fo. 79), that at one time Anne de Barri, doubtless one of the Manorbeer family, was a Prioress of it; and there is a writ *ad quod damnum*, of the 29th Edward I in respect of Aconbury,—“Johannes Barry pro Priorissa et Conventu de Akorneburi”,—the inquisition upon which would have been taken shortly before the above grant to the Priory was confirmed, thereby authenticating its date. (Har. Ch. 45; Roberts' *Calend. Geneal.*)

<sup>1</sup> Olethan, Mascherie, and Dunegan, were the three cantreds of the gift of Robert Fitz Stephen to Philip de Barri, and were con-



family; for the names of the lords of each exactly coincide, and the dates of their tenures of these estates also, whilst other facts tend to confirm this view beyond any manner of doubt. It is to be inferred also that the aforesaid John died shortly after the above inquisition, judging from the contention and litigation which ensued the year following, as to the lordship of Manorbeer, between his brother Richard and David his nephew, (his brother David having died before him), consequent upon the ejectment of David.<sup>1</sup>

An earlier inquisition, of the 5th Edward III, sets forth more particularly this forcible ejectment of David de Barri by his uncle Richard; and, again, the counter-ejectment of the latter by the former; in defiance, as will be seen, of an injunction from the sheriff to the contrary. Upon the occasion of this family feud, the manors were seized into the King's hands, in the 1st of Edward III, by Roger de Mortimer,<sup>2</sup> who at that time had the custody and charge of the county of Pembroke; but it does not appear that the Irish lordship, to which the said David succeeded on the death of his uncle John, was ever disputed by Richard.<sup>3</sup> The inquisition runs thus :

*"Inquisitio capta apud Pembrochiam, coram Willelmo de Rupe et Willelmo Casse justiciariis d'ni Regis, die Jovis proxima post Festum Decollacionis S'ci Joh'is Baptiste anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu quinto, virtute cujusdam commissionis huic inquis' consut' &c. Juratores dicunt quod Rogerus de Mortuo Mari habens custodiam comitatus et libertatis Pembrochiæ, ratione minoris etatis Lawrencii, filii et heredis Johannis de Hastynges, ex concessione d'ni Regis nunc, seisire fecit terras et*

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firm'd to William de Barri, the son of Philip, in 9th of King John. They were held by the service of ten knights' fees. (Chart., 9 John, m. 5. Sweetman.)

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Mr. Walford D. Selby, of the Record Office, for many notes bearing on the subject of these inquisitions, to whom our especial thanks are due.

<sup>2</sup> This must be Roger de Mortimer, created Earl of March in 1328 (2 Edward III), and executed and attainted in 1330.

<sup>3</sup> See note to p. 140.

tenementa David de Barri, videlicet Manerium de Maynebire Seint Jamyston, et Neweton, membra predicti manerii de Maynerbir cum pertinentiis eo quod predictus Rogerus ut custos comitatus predicti, inhibuit predicto David quod non intraret Manerium de Pennaly super possessione Ricardi de Barry. Et quia predictus Ricardus nullum statum habuit in predicto Manerio de Pennaly, nisi per disseisinam quam fecit predicto David, predictus David predictum Ricardum ejecit de predicto Manerio de Pennaly contra defencionem predicti Rogeri. Ideo idem Rogerus seisire fecit predictum Manerium de Maynerbir cum membris supradictis occasione predicta, et non alia de causa, in manum d'ni Regis, et taliter predictum Manerium cum membris supradictis detinetur adhuc in manu d'ni Regis. Dicunt etiam quod predictus David nunquam remisit, nec quietum clamavit, jus suum alicui, nec statum suum alicui mutavit. Dicunt etiam quod predictus Rogerus cepit manerium predictum de Maynerbir cum membris supradictis in manum d'ni Regis occasione predicta, die Lune proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis nunc primo &c. Dicunt etiam quod predictum manerium cum membris supradictis tenetur in capite de Laurencio, filio et herede Johannis de Hastyns, per servicium trium feodorum etc." (*Inq. p. m.*, 5 Edw. III, 2nd Nrs., No. 45.)

Annexed to this inquisition is a petition to the King from David de Barri, praying for redelivery of his lands, on the ground that he had been wronged by Roger de Mortimer, who, whilst holding the county of Pembroke by reason of the minority of Lawrence, son and heir of John de Hastyns, deceased, had seized the lands of him, the said David, upon the pretence of his being a partizan of Rhys ap Griffith, intending thereby (*pergravare*) to grievously oppress and injure him.<sup>1</sup> In answer to this petition, the King, finding that the lands were still detained in his hands, and willing to do right, issues his writ to inquire what lands were so

<sup>1</sup> It is manifest that the Rhys ap Griffith here named cannot be the Prince of South Wales who died A.D. 1196, and was buried at Ystrad Flûr Monastery; but his successor in the generation next but one (the sixteenth Prince of South Wales), who died 17 Henry III (1222), may possibly have been the Prince alluded to. In that case David the father, and brother of Richard, must have been the one who adhered to him. By their descent from Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Theodor, the Barri family were related or akin to him.

seized by Roger, and for what reason, and whether David alienated his right to any one, or in any way changed the succession. (Writ annexed to inquisition, 5 Edw. III, 2nd Nrs., No. 45.)

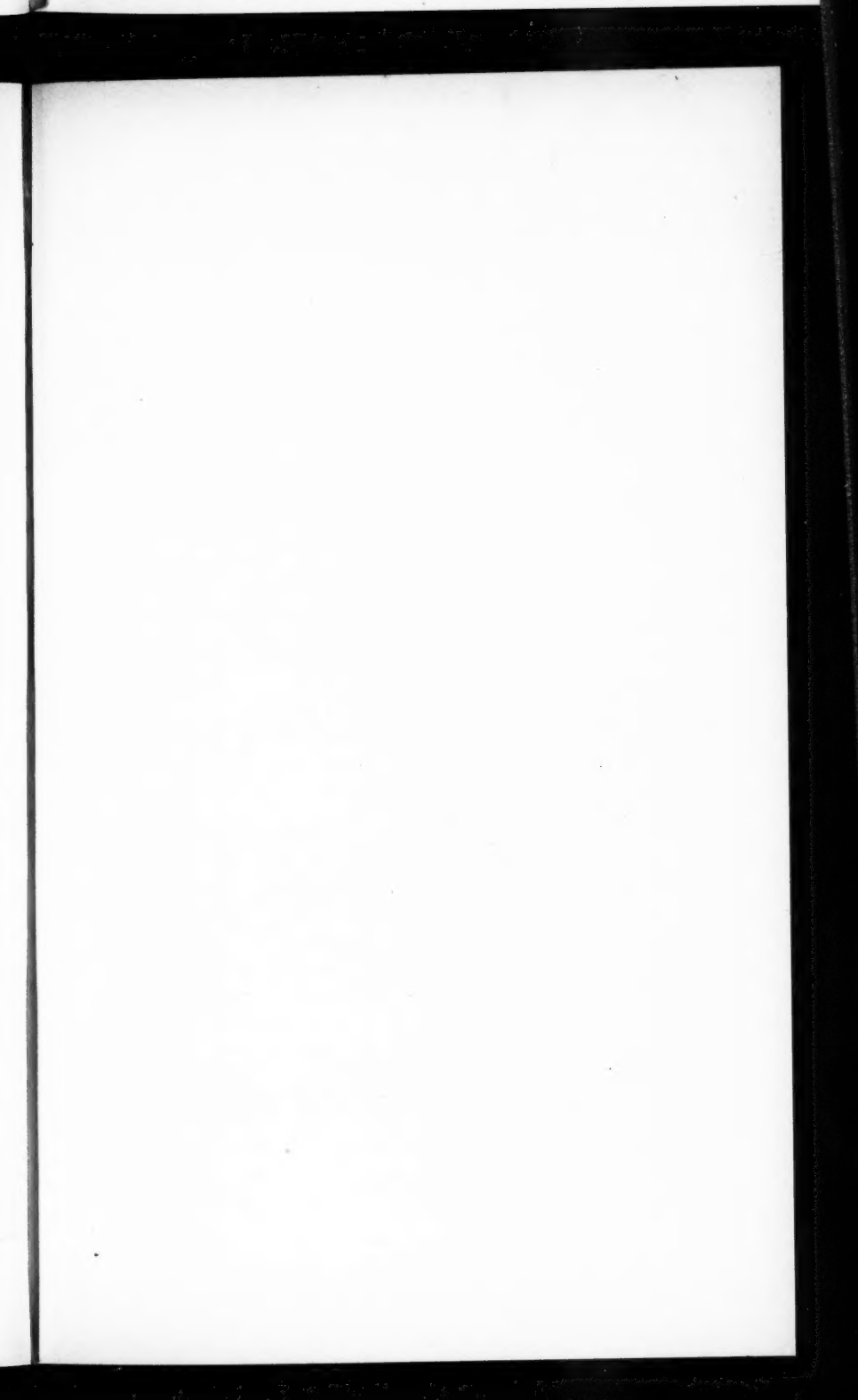
The two inquisitions thus quoted do not altogether tend to clear up the settlement touching the dispute of these parties as to the manors, so far as concerns David de Barri, nor as to the final result of the above petition; but the latest of them, viz., that of 33 Edw. III, though in other respects complicated, proves beyond doubt that Richard, who ejected David, the son of David, remained in possession of the estates until succeeded by his daughter Avisia, although there is no proof shewn of his title to them, and that she also died seized of them in 33 of Edward III. It is equally apparent that William de Wyndesore obtained possession of them not many years after her death, his immediate predecessor being a David de Rupe,—a matter in this inquiry which is not very explainable; still, coupled with the finding of the *Post-mortem* Inquest on Avisia, the daughter of Richard, it is one which materially tells against the claim or title to Manorbeer of David, the party ejected, and must not be overlooked. On the taking of this inquisition, the heir of Avisia was stated to be David de Barri, son of David de Barri, brother of Richard. Now, as has been observed, in the face of this, during two successions, the lordship of Manorbeer remained with the uncle of the claimant, David, and his daughter; and in the very same year of the taking of this inquisition (33 Edw. III), letters of attorney, dated 18 October of that year,<sup>1</sup> from David de Rupe, lord of Fermoy in Ireland, are found to appoint William de

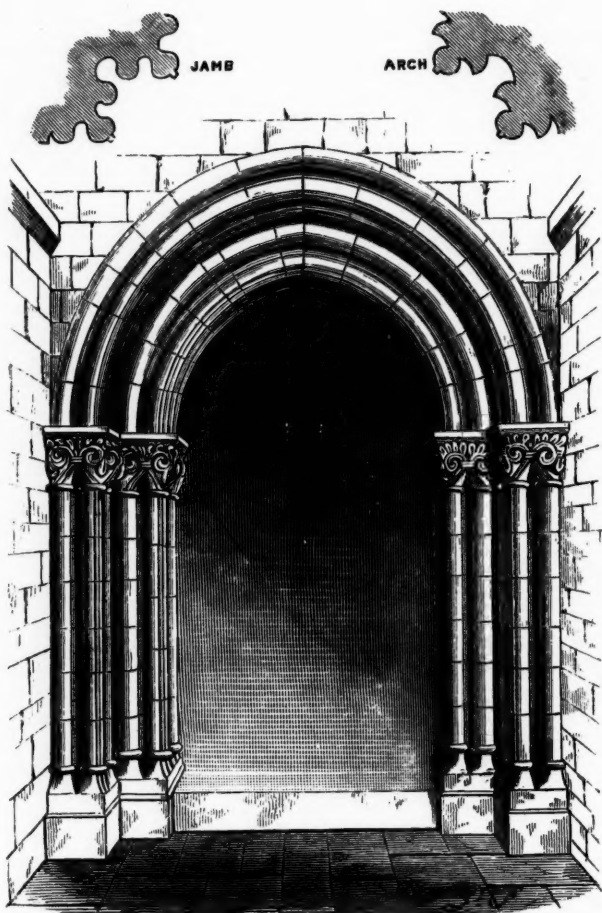
<sup>1</sup> In what way David de Rupe came into possession of Manorbeer we have not been able to ascertain, but the name is of constant occurrence in connection with that of De Barri in the Close and Patent Rolls, etc., from the time of John down to this date, and documents relating to Ireland; William de Barri, David de Rupe, and Eustace de Rupe, and others of the name, being associated continually as witnesses to the same entries. (*Arch. Camb.*, Jan., 53.)

Rupe, of Wales, to take seizin for him of Manorbeer ; whilst three years later (viz., in 36 Edw. III) David de Barri aforesaid is stated by inquisition on J. de Carew to have held of him, at Begelly, two knights' fees, and no allusion is made to Manorbeer. (Inq., 36 Edw. III, 1st Nrs., No. 38.) Coupling this with the fact that the Patent Roll entry granting the fee of Manorbeer to John de Windsor reads to the same effect, when closely examined, there is reasonable probability for concluding that David was never able to make good his claim to the manors of Manorbeer and Penally, either prior to the possession of David de Rupe and William de Wyndesore, or after the death of the latter, on the accession of John de Wyndesore.

The inquisition taken after the death of William de Wyndesore, already given, explains the nature of his tenure, namely, that he had the fee of Manorbeer and Penalley (probably by grant, but this does not appear); that he gave up the fee for a life-interest; and that John de Wyndesore, his nephew, was ultimately to be enfeoffed thereof in fee simple. It is presumable that when the trustees named in the inquisition took measures to carry out the trust, and to convey the property to John, David de Barri, who, we know by the *Inq. p. m.* on Avisia, his cousin, had been forcibly disseized, and to all appearance, in the absence of further proof to the contrary, wrongfully dispossessed by her father Richard, laid further claim to the estates thus unlawfully usurped ; and, moreover, it is possible that on the death of William de Wyndesore, he again seized the property. That John de Wyndesore brought forward his counter-claim, and obtained its confirmation by the King, is made apparent by the Patent Roll entry already quoted.

At the time the county of Pembroke was made Palatine, and with it the Earldom, which was confirmed to Lawrence, tenth Baron Hastings (Earl of Pembroke), the manors of Manorbeer, etc., were held of him *in capite* by the service of three knights' fees, as of his





DOORWAY, LLANFAIR CARRERINION CHURCH.

Castle of Pembroke. Still the number of fees by which this property was held varied considerably at different periods. In 31 Henry III (1247) the Barri family held it by the service of five fees, and it was the same in 17 Edward II (1323). The estates seem to have been alienated, after the death of John de Wyndesore (5 Henry V), to various parties, until they came into the possession of the Picton family, in right of whom they descended to the late Lord Milford, who held them till his death in 1857.

At one period it would seem that the Prince of Wales had some trifling revenue arising out of them.

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### LLANFAIR CAEREINION.

IN many Welsh churches which have been restored or partially or wholly rebuilt relics of preceding churches are occasionally brought to light. Fonts not interfering with the restorer's plans have been left, especially when more or less elaborate in their details. But these can only tell us their own story, and not that of the building. The south or west doors, especially if of interesting character, are also often saved from destruction, as in the case of Llanfair Caereinion. The present church was rebuilt in 1860, but, according to the learned author of the *History of St. Asaph*, nearly on the same lines as the older structure. This doorway is apparently the original one, and not rebuilt stone for stone. Mr. Thomas, in his account, considers the capitals Early Decorated work, but the other members are of the same date as the capitals, which may perhaps be called Late Transitional. The wooden steeple is of local character, and unusually plain and rude, as compared with other wooden steeples, many of which have been figured and described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The roofs of the nave and chancel have been

spared, but beyond these exceptions the building is uninteresting in the extreme. There is, however, a very fine effigy of a knight, which Mr. Bloxam assigns to the period between 1370 and 1390. Mr. Boutell assigns it to the later date of 1405, but neither of these distinguished authorities has examined the monument itself; they have formed their conclusions from two good lithographic views of it, which illustrate an article of Mr. Morris C. Jones (see *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. x, p. 133). Some slight doubt may arise as to the actual date, as Mr. Bloxam is of opinion that the military effigies of the fourteenth century in Wales are very different from those of the same period in England; for unless foreign artists were always to be had, fashions in England would not find their way into remote districts of Wales very quickly. There is, however, a peculiarity in the present instance, of which it is thought no similar example is known, and that is the heraldic charge of a chevron on the joupon or small quilted coat covering the body armour, and which Mr. Bloxam informs us was introduced into England about the middle of the reign of Edward III. The simple chevron with various distinctions of tincture and metal is a very common bearing; but without such distinctions it is impossible to assign it. Welsh coats generally bear lions, wolves, dragons, and other animals, whereas the oldest English bearings are mostly chevron, bars, crosses of various characters, so that if the chevron in the present instance is an heraldic charge the bearer is probably of English not Welsh origin. There is, however, an inscription on the belt—a most unusual circumstance, if not unique, as it is thought to be. This inscription is partly illegible, but Mr. Thomas reads HIC JACET DAVID (or T) AP... (MO) RURAIV. Now in a grant of Bishop Hugh (1320) of portions of the rectorial tithes of Meifod, one is described as having been the property of Moruzan, son of Moraoc. If for AIV on the belt we read AN, and the letters in brackets are correct, we have the same names in the grant and on the belt; although



if the effigies are of the dates assigned by our two best authorities on such matters, the Moruvan of the grant must have lived nearly a century before his namesake on the belt. The Welsh habit of inverting christian and surnames for many generations is well known. Thus while the son of John Williams is William Jones so the son of William Jones assumes the name of his grandfather, John Williams. A much older example of the practice appears to be that of the Lladawk stone, described in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 92, and in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1867, p. 343, where we have the stone of Barrivendus, son of Vendbarus. In the same way we may perhaps be allowed to conjecture that Moruvan may have continued in use as the family name for a considerable period. If this supposition is admitted as probable, we may assume that the owner of a portion of the tithes of Meifod and the knight whose effigy is and probably always was in Castle Caereinion Church, were of the same race, perhaps grandson and grandfather.

### CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

#### STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR 1879.

PAYMENTS.				RECEIPTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance due to Treasurer	28	3	11	Subscriptions and arrears	262	0	4
Printing . . . .	152	7	11	Books sold . . . .	34	11	6
Illustrations . . . .	28	2	0	Balance from Welshpool			
Mr. W. G. Smith, for part expenses to Welshpool				Meeting . . . .	30	7	10
Meeting . . . .	5	5	0				
Editor's salary . . . .	50	0	0				
G. E. Robinson, Esq., for postages . . . .	2	12	6				
Balance in hand . . . .	60	8	10				
	£326	19	8		£326	19	8

Examined and found correct,  
(Signed)

ARTHUR GORE  
CHARLES C. BABINGTON } Auditors.

## HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

AMONG the MSS. of the Trustees of the late Sir Richard Puleston, Bart., at Worthenbury Vicarage, co. Flint, are the following:

Folio, paper, fifteenth century, 90 leaves. Extent (in Latin) of the lordship of Chirklesland, by Robert Egerley, 15 Ric. II, from the bounds of Powis on the south, to the confines of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale on the north; and in breadth, between the demesne of Oswaldestre and Whittington, by well known bounds on the east, and the county of Merioneth on the west; which by metes and bounds the Earl of Arundel holds of the King by military service.

Folio 1. Near the Castle is the free burgh of Chirk; twenty-five burgages, each at 12*d.* per annum.

Fol. 2. The nature of the tenure of the burgages stated, and the amount of the tolls and people of markets.

Fol. 3. The ringildres are to collect rent and execute the office of bailiff. The holdings at rents are called "gavella".

Fol. 63b. The nature of the tenures of the tenants is stated. (Besides this volume there are a great number of old papers and copies of charters concerning Chirk.)

A 4to volume, paper, sixteenth century, contains thirteen homilies in Welsh. Of these, ten seem to be the composition of John Harpsfeld, Archdeacon of London, in the time of Henry VIII (well known as author of an ecclesiastical history of England), and two seem to be by H. Pendleton; and nearly all to be transcribed, or perhaps preached, by John Tregear. The twelfth and thirteenth are much tattered. Many words and phrases throughout the homilies are in English.

A folio volume, paper, fifteenth century, 227 pages. The valuable portion of this volume was well edited by Mr. Cecil Munro, for the Camden Society, in 1863. It consists of copies of letters by and to King Henry V and others during his reign; a number of letters by Bishop Beckington and Queen Margaret (of Anjou). The contents of the volume are described by Mr. Monro in his preface. Besides the documents printed by the Camden Society there is, at pp. 143-150, a Welsh rental for Gavel Kynrayn, Trevor Issa, and other places.

A folio volume, paper, about A.D. 1600. Seems to be a register for inquisitions or deeds. In the left margin are the names of places nearly all in Cheshire; in the centre of the page are the names of holders, the property holden, and the nature of the tenure; and in the right margin are the respective dates.

The early deeds are numerous.

Copy of a charter dated Overton, 1218, whereby Madog ab Griffith, lord and heir of Powys, grants the vill of Hatchton to God and St. Mary and the Cistercian monks of Valle Crucis.

18 Edward II, May 1. Grant by Edward Earl of Arundel to his burgesses of Chirk, of a free burgh with privileges.

Four grants of lands in Conway, and one grant of burgages in Beaumaris, by Edward II as Prince of Wales.

8 Edward III. *Inspeximus*, in French, by Richard Earl of Arundel, of a charter by Edmund his father, dated 18 Edward II, which gave to the freemen of Nanheudwy, Mochnant, Cynllaith, and Carrecan, rights of turbary in certain woods (*Offa's Dyke* is mentioned,—“*usque ad fossam Offæ*”). He allows the charter and releases a *treth* called Trethmolyn, with which they were charged for certain mills. Part of seal remains.

22 Edward III. Madog, filius Iōr, vicar of Llangollen, gives to Llewellyn, son of Llewellyn and his wife Margaret (daughter of Gruffyth, son of Madog), according to the law and custom of England, certain lands to hold for ever to the said Llewellyn and Margaret, and the heirs of Llewellyn on Margaret begotten, according to the law and custom of England, of the chief lords, etc. If Llewellyn die without heir by Margaret, then the lands are to revert to his right heirs, according to the law and custom of England.

22 Edward III (directly afterwards), the same Madog, son of Iōr, grants to the same Llewellyn and Margaret, his wife, certain other lands, to hold to the said Llewellyn and Margaret, and the heirs of Llewellyn by Margaret, according to the law and custom of Wales, except the heir he enfeoffed (*teodavi*) of certain excepted lands. By the first charter the heir according to the law of England was to take; by the second charter, the heirs according to the law of Wales, except such as would inherit under the first charter, would take.

16 Richard II. Several mortgages. As security for the loan the borrower demised the land to farm by way of pledge (“*nomine pignoris*”) for four years, and so on for four years, until the money was paid. The lender, it would seem, held the land and took the profits without account, the borrower having the privilege of redeeming it at the end of any four years on payment of the principal money. (There are specimens of this kind of mortgage in the collection of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth.) One mortgage in 9 Edward III is for one year, and so on. A mortgage dated at Ruthyn, 14 Edward III, witnesses the mortgagor “*ad tūpriet tradidisse*”, the land for four years, to secure a sum which the mortgagee in hand, “*nomine pūit*”, had paid to the mortgagor.

1467, April 4 or 14. Grant by several cardinals of remission of 100 days to those who should go to the chapel of St. Gwyddvarch, confessor and abbot, or to the cemetery at Chirk of St. Tysilio, confessor, and hear mass of Richard ap J[ohn ap David], priest of the said diocese, or give to him support, or say Pater Noster and Ave Maria for the souls of his parents on certain days.

Grant by Henry VI of land in Kellokesdey, in Flintshire.

3 Edward IV, Sept. 21. Grant by Henry, Duke of Somerset, Marquis of Dorset, Lord of Chirk and Chirkeland, of land in Chirkeland.

14 Edward IV. Grants by Edward, first-born of Edward IV, and Prince of Wales, of licence to David ap Ievon to hold lands to him and his heirs, "nomine Kynnowys."

Large original charter of King Henry VII to the people of Chirkeland, allowing them to buy land in England and English burghs in Wales, and to hold offices there. Dated 21 July, 21 Henry VII.

22 Henry VII, Aug. 4. Sign manual of the king; a letter to Launcelot Landor, receiver of the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, and Mr. Edwards, deputy constable of the Castle of Chirk. Recites that the inhabitants of Chirkeland had given 1,000 marks for privileges granted by his letters patent, and that some had been paid, authorises them to levy the remainder, "trusting in your sadnesses and wisdomes". Dated at the manor of Somersham.

6 Henry VIII, May 18. Admission to land before Charles, Duke of Suffolk, chief steward of the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, and Chirk and Chirkeland, of Mr. Edwards for 99 years, at a rent of 13s. 4d. Seal and signature.

A petition on a long piece of vellum by Richard Fourde of Montgomery against the misdeeds of Richard Herbert, deputy of Lord Herbert, chief steward of the lordship and Castle of Montgomery; eleven articles. He charges the deputy with taking bribes to the king's loss.

In the 34 Henry VIII is a grant by John ap David ap Madoc ap Deio, a naif of the king of his demesne of Chirk, to John ap Jer ap Jevon ap Gruffin, of half a gavel of his bond land in the vill of Erogen Coladris.

3 Edward VI. Act of Parliament (in black letter, printed by Grafton) for the relief granted to the king's majesty by the Lords and Commons, and the king's missive under the great seal. Dated 16 March. 3 Edward VI (fastened through the Act), appointing commissioners (among whom is John Puleston) for the county of Denbigh, to make an account of the sheep and their proprietors, and levy the relief.

A paper of the seventeenth century, touching the tithes issuing out of the lord his demesne, otherwise called boord land, in the lordship and parish of Chirk, co. Denbigh.

In 4 Edward VI are a lot of proceedings before the King's Council in the Marches of Wales between John Edwards of Chirk and Thomas ap Rees, regarding land.

A small bundle of copies of records of suits in the Marches court, Elizabeth and Charles II.

14 James I. Certificates signed by many persons, showing that Llangollen was a fit place for a market and fair, and commencement of a letter (unsigned), whether in recommendation or not does not appear.

There is an immense mass of law proceedings in the seventeenth century, bills, answers, briefs, depositions of witnesses, etc. Robert, Earl of Leicester, had the manor of Chirk by grant from Queen Elizabeth, in the seventh year of her reign. He sold it to Lord St. John of Bletsoe, in the thirty-third year of Elizabeth, and Lord St. John sold it to Sir Thomas Middleton in the thirty-seventh year of Elizabeth. In 1615 Sir Thomas filed a bill against John Edwards of Chirk for encroaching on the waste.

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#### LETTERS.

The letters and papers here of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are very numerous. Among them are—

1643. Original warrant to the constable of the peace of the hundred of Yale, and two to the high constables of Nanhydiott. The first is to apprehend certain persons named in a schedule, for having refused to show their arms. The second and third are directing the apprehension of persons named in a schedule, and bring them before the Commissioners of Array.

1643. Petition to Prince Rupert by the Commissioners for Chirkland and Yale, and draft of the same, stating that the hundred has paid about £1,000 within twelve months. Asks that they may pay only proportioned with the rest of the county.

1643. Petition to John, Lord Byron, Field Marshal of his majesty's forces, praying that there may be a guard of soldiers at the passage over the river Keiriog.

1640, Sept. 3. Catalogue of the names of all the trained bands, and their maintenances in Chirkland and Yale, thirteen and a half long pages. Officers' names on fifteenth page. Each seems to have had one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign bearer, two sergeants, and one drum.

## Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

## "THE CELTIC ELEMENT OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE."

SIR,—I am obliged by the courteous remarks of your correspondent, "H. W. L.", and invite other criticisms from Welsh scholars who may be disposed to favour me with them. I would remind them, however, that the Celtic names that are found in our old charters, and the Celtic words in the English language, can only be fully explained by a reference to the different branches of the Celtic stock of languages. The Celtic tribes or races in England were not all Cymric. It would be of little avail, therefore, in many instances to refer to the Welsh language alone, and still less to *modern* Welsh. Such names, for instance, as Culdee and Ghilepatric cannot be explained by the Welsh language; and the word *bam*, which appears in the Irish, Gaelic, and Breton languages, is not found in the Welsh. As I cannot accept the conclusions of "H. W. L.", I beg to offer the following remarks in reply to them.

*Cutakig*. The Welsh *cwta* undoubtedly now means short or docked; but this is probably a secondary meaning. The root *cut*, which is the source of the English *cut* (Prof. Skeat's *Etym. Dict.*, s. v.), would have the same meaning at first as its English equivalent. It has lost an initial *s*, and must be equated with the Breton *skid-i*, to cut a furrow (an ancient English form is *kil*); *skeja*, to cut. Sans. *chhid*, which represents an older form, *skid* (Fick,<sup>3</sup> i, 237), to cut or cleave. It may be assumed that in the ninth or tenth century *cwta* was used in this sense. *Cutakig* would therefore mean *cut-flesh*, which may be interpreted by *flesher* or *butcher*, as the English *cut-throat* means a murderer. If, however, a suitable meaning can be found for the word from the W. *cwta*, I shall readily accept it. My argument, which is that many of these words are not Teutonic, but Celtic, will not be affected by such an explanation.

*Prudan*. The W. *prudd* represents an older form, *prud* (Zeuss, i, 169); and from this *prud-an* might be formed, as *bych-an*, *llyd-an*, etc., or as *lleb-an* from *llabi*.

*Fila*. This root of the word is in the Ir. *file-oir*, a crafty or deceitful person; W. *fill*, a writhe or turn. Cf. Fr. *tort* from *tortus*, and Eng. *wrong* from *wringan*. The W. *fel*, subtle, crafty, represents an older *fila*, and is formed as the Sans. *veda*, from the root *vid*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word is frequently found in early English works:

"Sorful bicom that fals *file*,

And thought how he moght man buwill" ("be-gyle", Fairfax MS.).  
(*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton. MS.)

*Roda*. This is formed I think as *fila*, from the Corn. and Bret. *ro* for *rod*, a gift, W. *rhodd*=*rôd*, a gift; *rhodai*, one who gives.

*Becca*. *Bec* is a good Celtic word, though lost from the Welsh language. In the Breton it means a beak, and also a mouth; *begad* denotes a bird that has a large beak, or one who has a large or prominent mouth. It is the Ir. Gael. *bec*, *beic*, and the source of the Eng. *beak*.

*Lauiquin*. The inlant (i) in this word is not the Welsh definite article. It is a part of an old, though not the oldest, form of the word. There are many variations of it, and among them are *laue* and *lofi*. The Ir. Gael. form is *lamh*, which represents an older *lam*. (Z. i, 133.) It seems that the oldest form was *lami*; and this is indicated by another form, *lef*=*laifi*. From *lami*, by a change common in the Celtic languages, came *lavi* and *lofi*, the *u* in *lauiquin* having the sound of *v*. "In medio vocum", says Zeuss, "alternant *f* et *u*, interdum et *v*; *dwfyr* (aqua) *Lib. Land.*, p. 113; *dwuyr*, *Mab. ii*, 42."

The edition of Nennius, published by Gale, has no value. It was edited from a single MS. of late date. Mr. Stevenson's edition was formed from more than twenty MSS. Dr. Giles generally follows Mr. Stevenson, but has adopted the reading *llauiquin*. The latter has *lamnquin*, and this, on further consideration, I believe to be the true reading. We have here the old form *lam*, with the suffix that denotes either individuality or smallness.

The argument from the gender of the noun has little force. The W. *llaw* is feminine, but the Cornish *duilof* is masculine. This may have been the gender in the ninth century, but, if not, an Anglo-Saxon transcriber might very easily make an error in the vowel.

The explanation of "H. W. L." cannot be accepted. Oswald had no connection with Armorica or Merionethshire; nor is there any evidence that St. Tecwyn gave a name to any place in England. Moreover, it is improbable that Oswald had his surname or nickname from the name of a place. It was probably suggested by some peculiarity connected with himself, by which he was distinguished from others, as Henry I was called Beaulerc, and Edward I had the nickname of Longshanks.

I have lately met with an additional Celtic epithet, *ailquin*; "*ail*, the dual of *ail*, is now *ael*, brow; cf. *ailquin*, white-browed, a title of Ecgfred.—Nennius, 61." (Whitley Stokes in Kühn's *Beiträge*, etc. vii, 398). It is worthy of note that *quin* is used with a fem. noun, *ail*=*ael*.

JOHN DAVIES.

16, Belsize Square, N.W.

Mr. Halliwell has mistaken the meaning of the word. It does not mean a worthless person or a coward, but a crafty, deceitful person. During my boyhood a crafty old man was often called, in Lancashire, an old *file*. It belongs to the Celtic element of the English language.



SIR,—The description of the Cantlin Stone in Mr. Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*, p. 155, is almost wholly erroneous. The original Cantlin Stone is that of which he speaks as "a slab".

W. C. was a pauper from a distance, who died on the hill there, and the two parishes of Mainstone and Bettws disputed which was to go to the cost of burying him. At last Bettws buried him, and was rewarded some years ago, as this was taken in evidence as to the disputed boundary, that the spot was in Bettws parish. The modern Cross was erected by the late Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., the owner of the land. It is not difficult of access as it lies only a few yards off a hill-road from Bishop's Castle to Kerry.

I remain faithfully yours,

POWIS.

Powis Castle, Welshpool.

March 22, 1880.

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SIR,—Can our Local Secretary for Merioneth give us any information as to the once celebrated Beddgelert pint mentioned by Mr. Williams of Llandegai in his *Observations on the Snowdon Mountain*, published in 1802. Speaking of an old house near the church, which he thinks may have been that of the Prior, in it he says was an old pewter mug holding two quarts or more, called "The Beddgelert Pint." Any one who could hold it in one hand, and drink the contents in ale at one draught, was entitled to the liquor gratis, the tenant charging the value of it as part payment of rent. The pewter vessel and the custom, and probably the house itself, have all vanished, as well as their memory, as none of the many guide-books mention it. If any one, however, can give us some information, it must be our excellent Local Secretary, whose residence and estates are so near that interesting locality.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

AN ANCIENT MEMBER.

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SIR,—According to the *Annual Register* of 1774, one Mr. Evans, of Kilbroith in Montgomeryshire, was the first man who introduced the culture of turnips into Wales. He died in the month of June. If what is said of him is true, he certainly stands high in the list of "Montgomeryshire Worthies"; but the statement requires some confirmation before it can be generally received. The early volumes of the *Annual Register* are not always accurate. Thus the well known Nicholas Hooke, of Conway fame, is called "Brooke" (see p. 85). This, however, may be the printer's blunder. Mr. Evans' importation of turnips into Wales cannot be so explained. Where, in the county, is Kilbroith?

M.A.

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## Archæological Notes and Queries.

OYSTERMOUTH.—What is the etymology of Oystermouth? Can it be a corruption of the Welsh name of the place, "Ystum-llwynarth", brought about by the omission of the second element in the name, "llwyn", *e.g.*, Ystum(llwyn)arth = Ystumarth = Oystermouth? I see the name occurs as "Loyngarth", omitting the first part, in Nennius: "In Guhyr altare est in loco, qui dicitur *Loyngarth*". (*Nennius und Gildas*, Schulz's edition, Berlin, 1844, p. 77.) LL. R.

LAIKIBRAIT.—Gervase of Tilbury mentions a valley near Carlisle, where "quotidie ad horam unam diei auditur classicum campanarum dulces resonans; unde indigenæ loco illi deserto nomen imposuerunt in idiomate Gallico *Laikibrait*." (Liebrecht's edition, Hanover, 1856, p. 34.) What place, if any, outside the "realm of faëry", is meant, and what is *Laikibrait*? Liebrecht is silent on the point. LL. R.

EDWARD OF CAERNARVON.—In the Record Office is preserved a copy of the following letter from Edward Prince of Wales to Walter Reynald, dated Oct. 26, 33 Edward I, stating that the King had, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, granted him the land of Wales, and afterwards all the debts due to him in those parts:

*County Bags, Wales.—Bag 1, No. 6.*

"D'no Walt'o Reginaldi.

"Saluz Pur ceo n're Seigneur le Roy n're Pere lan de son regne .xxix. nous dona la t're de Gales, e la Counte de Cestre, e puis nous dona toutes les dettes que luy furent dues en celes p'ties, e nous par reson de sel doun auom resceu de Madame Johanne que fut la fe'me Mons' Oweyn de la Pole.cxxli. a n're Eschequer de Cestre a ceo q' nous auoms entendu, e sicome le portour de cestes l'res vous purra monstrier pa'acquitances quil en ad desur seal de n're Eschequer de Cestre, en p'tie de sont de .ccc. Mars q' la dite Johanne deuoit a n're dit Seigneur e pere de fyn pur son Mariage. E nous auoms entendu q' la dite Joh'e est ore destreinte par le Viscounte de Strafford par le bref del Eschequer n're dit Seigneur le Roy e pere qui nous dona cele dette, sicome il piert par les estretees q' nous auoms desouz le seal de le dit Eschequer q'sount en la garde n're Chaunceler a Loundr'; vous mandoms q' vous alez as Barouns de le dit Eschequer, et leur priez de par nous quil voillent releisser la dite destresce. Don' etc."

Probably dated at Queneton, 27th October, that being the date of several letters preceding and following this. In other letters the person here addressed is called "Walter Reignaud" or "Renaud".

## CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Pembroke, and will begin on Monday, August 23. C. E. G. PHILIPPS, Esq., of Picton Castle, has accepted the office of President for the ensuing year. Particulars of the proposed arrangements will appear in the next Number.

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 Reviews.

FOUILLES FAITES A CARNAC. Par JAMES MILN. Paris : Didier et C<sup>ie</sup>.

THE name of Carnac always sounds pleasantly in the ears of English archæologists. It calls to mind the pleasant season of the year when they take leave, for a time, of the scenes of their every day life, and seek health and pleasure in a temporary change. Long before the time of his actual journey, the archæologist loves to arrange the details, either alone or in company with two or three chosen companions, and to prepare himself with such general information as is accessible to him respecting the district which he proposes to visit. Thus in the monotonous routine of country life, or in the business avocations of a bustling town, he has a foretaste of the pleasure which will receive its consummation on some bright day in the charming month of September, when, with his *impedimenta* carefully reduced to the smallest practicable dimensions, he seeks "fresh fields and pastures new". Indeed, the anticipation of a pleasant tour, and the retrospective view of it, are often little inferior in enjoyment to the tour itself.

Let us assume that "To Brittany" is the reply given to the question, "Where shall we go?" It is a district teeming with interest; and amongst its localities of chief interest Carnac holds a high place. Carnac, in its way, is absolutely unique. On our own soil we count *meini hiron* by twos and threes together; stone circles are very rare, and for the most part not less imperfect; but at Carnac there still remain seventeen hundred erect stones. It is to the many objects of archæological interest with which this locality abounds that Mr. Miln, fortified by fifteen years' experience in Scotland, directs his attention in the volume before us. Having the desire, he tells us, to compare the monuments which he had seen in Scotland with those which remain in Brittany, he determined to make an excursion of which Carnac should be the head and central point. So well pleased was Mr. Miln with what he saw that he has remained there continuously, if we are not mistaken, since 1873.

His work, though treating in the main of the results of his excavations, is by no means confined to objects of interest which were buried in the earth, but is rather a general review of the archaeological remains of the locality; and it is a review which cannot fail to be read with pleasure and profit, because it deals with facts. It does not enter into long speculations; but it places facts before the reader which he can apply in his own way. It gives him letters which he can form into the words of his own language. The results of the excavations of dwellings of the Gallo-Roman period are very remarkable, and descend to such minute details that Mr. Miln is able to bring before us a window of that remote period.

The mechanical execution of the volume leaves nothing to be desired; both paper and typography being of the highest order. The illustrations, which are so important a feature in every work of this nature, and which are very numerous, some of them being chromo-lithographs, deserve special mention. Every one is from the original drawing of the author, and, as we understand, executed expressly for this work; hence one is spared the annoyance of seeing what are simply reproductions yet once more of what one has already seen several times before. There is also, as we should add, a map of Carnac and the neighbourhood; and we may safely say that even the archaeologist who limits his baggage to necessary things will not grudge this volume the space it will occupy in his portmanteau.

At the foot of several of the chapters, Mr. Miln has given engravings of several crosses and of one very curious erect stone, although they have no direct reference to the excavations which he carried out; and he expresses the opinion that a work specially devoted to the crosses and erect stones of the department of the Morbihan is greatly to be desired. Let us hope that the reception accorded to his present work may be such as will induce him to proceed in the direction he here indicates.

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THE OGAM INSCRIBED MONUMENTS OF THE GAEDHIL IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS, WITH A DISSERTATION ON THE OGAM CHARACTER. Illustrated with fifty Photolithographic Plates, by the late RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., S.O.T., Fellow of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland, and author of the *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*. London: George Bell and Sons. 1879.

THIS is a remarkable volume, as being the only complete work on the Ogam or Ogham alphabets, their history and the uses to which they have been applied. It is true that in the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy and those of other kindred societies notices of particular examples may be found here and there, but such are generally explanations or renderings of texts, which are sometimes variously explained by learned experts. But even if all such dis-

putations were collected together in one or more volumes the collection, whatever its interest, could never be considered a history of Ogam characters and language. This want has now been supplied by the volume before us, and for the appearance of which the public is deeply indebted to Mrs. Brash, who has so effectively carried out her late husband's wishes on the subject. She entrusted the editing of the volume to her friend Mr. George M. Atkinson, who has most faithfully and successfully done his work. It is indeed not to be desired that certain views and statements of Mr. Brash should be universally accepted, and it would be a singular instance, perhaps a unique one, if any volume of the kind did contain statements and theories which met with universal acceptance. The same may perhaps be said of any treatise on any subject, but in this instance it would be nothing less than miraculous, where, notwithstanding the labour and research bestowed upon it, there may yet be some uncertain points.

One of the principal arguments for the great antiquity of these characters is that previous to the arrival of St. Patrick not only Christianity existed, but there was a considerable amount of learning and civilisation in Ireland. And even before their conversion to Christianity the people at large were no unlettered savages, but had an alphabet at least of their own. It is said that Saint Patrick taught his disciples the alphabet, but this was the Roman one, the character of which was strange to those who before the saint's arrival had only their own primitive characters. Even Spencer, who was by no means complimentary in his remarks about the Irish, distinctly says there is no doubt they had letters of their own, but whether invented by themselves or borrowed from others it was doubtful. Mr. Brash thought that internal evidences of a Pagan language were to be found among the remains of the Breton laws. Charles O'Connor, an authority of no slight weight, asserts as a fact that the Irish learnt the Roman alphabet from Christian missionaries about the fifth century, giving up their ruder and more primitive characters, although, as existing monuments still show, they used these characters at later periods. Other authorities on this question are mentioned, but one will be considered quite sufficient, namely, the late Dr. Todd, who, alluding to this question, distinctly says, "From the foregoing examples, without entering into any discussion of some other alleged instances, which are, we say at least, doubtful, it is evident that there were Irish Christians on the continent before the mission of St. Patrick, some of whom had attained to considerable literary and ecclesiastical eminence." But even granting that before St. Patrick's time there were many learned Irish, this does not prove that Ogam characters were used either by them or the Pagan Irish before them. The principal ground on which their Pagan character is affirmed is that stones inscribed with Ogam letters are found worked up in stone chambers, raths, keels, and similar early structures, and which must have been brought from some other place. Mr. Brash assumes that the superstitious dread

connected with such stones, which even to this day, not only in Ireland but elsewhere exists, must have deterred the builders of these raths, etc., from such a sacrilegious use of these stones. But the fact that they were so used would show that their nature was not known, and therefore made use of by the builders without any scruple. Their age must therefore be very great indeed, if we suppose the builders were not strangers. It is moreover remarkable that in no one instance has any Ogam stone, used as mentioned, been found with Christian emblems. Hence they are of pre-Christian times, unless there was a period when very early Christians did not put any such distinctive emblem on their tombstones. There is, however, one fact wanting to confirm what Mr. Brash wishes to prove, and that is the dates of the raths or keels, or even chambers. Is it so certain that these are of such great antiquity?

But if no Ogam monument hitherto discovered bears any Christian formula, sacred name, or word of Christian hope or resignation, yet on many are found the primitive forms of the cross, which are certainly not subsequent additions, as in the *Bridell* stone, in Pembroke, visited during the Cardigan meeting. Ireland is so rich in these relics that she might almost be called the land of Ogam; but Wales also has hers, which, if not so numerous as those in Ireland, yet are not inferior to them in interest. This remark refers more particularly to the bilingual stones, the finest of which is the *Sagranus* or *Sagramnus* stone in St. Dogmael's, in Pembrokeshire. This is the first bilingual stone discovered in Wales, and was first made known at the Rhyl meeting of the Association in 1858. An accurate copy of the characters was sent to Dr. Graves, then and still Bishop of Limerick, who read them *SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI*, being the same as the Roman letters, except that *MAQI* replaces *FILI*. A slight difference also occurs in the first word, *Sagramni*, which omits the *m* in the Ogam. As to the *Cunatami* a difference of opinion exists whether it is the Latinised form of *Cunedda*. This *Cunedda*, distinguished by the name of *Wledig* from another *Cunedda*, a grandson of King Lear, is said to have been sovereign of the Strath Clyde Britons about A.D. 330; but *Sagranus* is not in the list of his ten sons, one of whom, *Ceredig*, is said to have given his name to the county of Cardigan. We fear, however, that this *Sagranus* was no son of *Cunedda*, for Mr. Brash (p. 333) claims *Cunatamus* *Cunatam* as pure Gaelic, being formed of *cu* and *Aedha*, *cu* being a common prefix both to *Cymric*, as *Cunedha*, *Cunobeline*, and *Gaelic*, as *Cuinnedha*, whose death is recorded in the annals of Tighernac, A.D. 496. Nor does the name *Sagranus* come off better than that of *Cunedda*, for *sag* or *seg* are said to be commonly prefixed to Irish names. The name also is said to be found on the *Bridell* stone, with the addition of *NEQ* (p. 341, pl. 45); but at any rate the name is engraved in Roman letters on the *Fardell* stone, in Devonshire, figured and described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 176. Professor Rhys, however, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1873, stoutly resists this appropriation of Welsh Ogam monuments by

Irish claimants, not only on the ground of the places where they are, but because he identifies in *Liber Landavensis* the names here mentioned. Thus Sagramni or Sagroni of the Bridell stone he identifies with Gur-haereu (p. 191), and Haarubiu (p. 194), while Cunatami is duly represented in the same book by Canatam (p. 228) and Condaf (p. 132). Most people will agree with Professor Rhys that forms common to Welsh and Irish existed, and therefore there can be little doubt that Mr. Brash's appropriation of Welsh names as Irish can hardly be admitted. As Edward Llwyd is admitted to have first discovered and pointed out to his Irish friends their own Ogam stones, it would savour of something like ingratitude to claim such Welsh stone records as Irish.

There are in this volume several discussions not directly connected with Ogam history, which are of considerable interest and value, and well deserving notice, which our space forbids. But the real value of the work consists in the exhaustive and able examination of all that is at present known. Mr. Brash has pointed out that true Roman inscriptions run horizontally across the face of the stone, whereas, when we have Roman and Ogham inscriptions together, they run lengthwise, so that the two inscriptions are parallel. Many stones, however, which have no Ogams are inscribed lengthways, so that the presence of Ogams is not necessarily the cause of this position. To those who want to know anything about these Ogams we heartily recommend them this valuable work. Nor is the manner in which it is got up, as regards the paper, printing, and illustrations, unworthy of the importance of the subject.

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